Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-025
Wednesday
8 February 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-025 *8 February 1989*

CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Hungary's Medgyessy on Moscow CEMA Conference *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 25 Jan]* 1

ALBANIA

Report on Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum 2
Agricultural Measures Analyzed *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Alia Addresses Plenum *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Khristov Meets With New Venezuelan President *[BTA]* 10
Ovcharov, Hrivnak End Cooperation Talks *[BTA]* 10
Semerdzhiev Declines To Disclose Defense Figures *[POGLED No 6]* 10
Delegation Leader Discusses CSCE Results *[BTA]* 11
Zhivkov Greets Greece's Papandreou on Birthday *[BTA]* 11
Georgi Khristov Zhivkov's Obituary Published *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Feb]* 11
Correspondent to Radio Free Europe Denounced *[POGLED No 6]* 11
Cooperative Movement Debates Future of Unions *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 1 Feb]* 12
'Good' Results in Jan Industrial Production *[BTA]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jakes Receives GDR Official Kolditz 7 Feb *[Prague Radio]* 14
Jozef Lenart Departs for Soviet Union 7 Feb *[Prague Radio]* 14
Party Presidium's Stand on Jaruzelski Visit *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Feb]* 14
3 Feb CPCZ Presidium Session Reported *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Feb]* 14
Chief of Staff Vacek on Pact Defensive Doctrine *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
'Leveling Out' Between Two Republics Detailed *[Smutny in RUDE PRAVO 4 Feb]* 16
Cardinal Tomasek, Adamec Exchange Letters *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Jan]* 18
RUDE PRAVO Notes Anonymous Protest Threats *[Cinger, 4 Feb]* 20
Artists Call for Release of Writer Vaclav Havel *[Vienna TV]* 20
No Alternative Service for Believers Declared *[PRACE 4 Feb]* 20
Finance Ministry Official on Personnel Cuts *[PRACE 30 Jan]* 21
Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Jan 21

HUNGARY

Politburo Meets on Constitution, Personnel *[Budapest Radio]* 23
'Alternative' Groups Hold Debate on Constitution *[MTI]* 23
Pozsgay, Berecz Address Film Festival *[MTI]* 23
Geza Kotai Questioned on Warsaw Pact Membership *[Budapest Radio]* 24
SZOT Chief Nagy Explains Trade Union Stand *[Budapest TV]* 24
Explains Rejection of Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Nagy Addresses Rally *[Budapest Radio]* 25
Trade Unions Hold News Conference on Strike Law *[MTI]* 26
Program on Romanian Refugees in Sofia Embassy *[Budapest TV]* 26
Statistical Office on Romanian Resettlement *[MTI]* 27

POLAND

Politburo Welcomes Inauguration of Roundtable *[PAP]* 28
Roundtable Talks Resume; First Session Viewed 29

'Teams' Start 2d Day *[PAP]* 29
Urban, Onyszkiewicz, ZSL Comment *[Warsaw Radio]* 29
Further on Urban's Views *[PAP]* 31
Further on Onyszkiewicz Remarks *[PAP]* 32
ZSL's Kozakiewicz Views Session *[PAP]* 33
Democratic Party Assesses Talks *[PAP]* 33
Biographical Data on Roundtable Participants *[PAP]* 34
Trade Unions Discuss Role in Roundtable *[TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Feb]* 35
4,000 Miners Strike on Roundtable Opening Day 36
Wage Increase Demanded *[Lodz Radio]* 36
Belchatow Miners Continue Strike *[Warsaw TV]* 36
Strike Reportedly Spreading *[Warsaw Radio]* 36
Urban Comments on Strike *[PAP]* 36
Postmortem Report Issued on Priest's Death *[Warsaw TV]* 36
Walesa Meets Construction Technology Workers *[Warsaw TV]* 37
Lech Walesa Interviewed on Current Situation *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 24 Jan]* 37
Moscow TV Interviews Jaruzelski on Past Year 38
Theoretical, Ideological Conference Opens 43
Jaruzelski Speaks *[TRYBUNA LUDU 3 Feb]* 43
2 Feb Discussion Outlined *[TRYBUNA LUDU 3 Feb]* 46
Journalists Meet Participants *[TRYBUNA LUDU 3 Feb]* 46
Rakowski Addresses Worker Aktivs 26 Jan *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28-29 Jan]* 46
Orzechowski Addresses Amity Society Congress *[TRYBUNA LUDU 28-29 Jan]* 48
Press Reports on 31 Jan Politburo Meeting *[TRYBUNA LUDU 1 Feb]* 50

ROMANIA

PEC Approves Delegation's Geneva Mandate *[AGERPRES]* 51
PEC Meeting Held on 1988 Plan Fulfillment 51
Agricultural Decisions Made *[AGERPRES]* 51
Communique Issued *[SCINTEIA 4 Feb]* 52

YUGOSLAVIA

Additional Speeches From Belgrade LCY Plenum 58
Turpurkovski Gives Address *[BORBA 2 Feb]* 58
Korosec Speaks 31 Jan *[BORBA 2 Feb]* 59
Army Leaders' Plenum Speeches Examined *[BORBA 4-5 Feb]* 60
'Admirals Did Not Threaten' *[Stojadinovic in POLITIKA 5 Feb]* 61
Validity of LCY Plenum Ballot Questioned *[BORBA 3 Feb]* 62
LCY Central Committee Plenum Achieved 'Little' *[Bilbija in BORBA 4-5 Feb]* 62
Dialogue Seen as Only Way Out of 'Stalemate' *[Krsnik in VJESNIK 2 Feb]* 63
Federal Chamber Session Slated for 15, 16 Feb *[TANJUG]* 64
FEC Approves Price Increases on Staple Foods *[TANJUG]* 64
Coverage of Dizdarevic Cyprus, Iraq Visit 64
Dizdarevic Banquet Toast *[TANJUG]* 64
Meets Cypriot President *[TANJUG]* 65
TANJUG Details Events in Visit 66
Dizdarevic Arrives in Baghdad *[TANJUG]* 67
Meets With Iraqi President *[Belgrade Radio]* 67
Further on Talks *[TANJUG]* 67
Dizdarevic Departs for Home *[TANJUG]* 68
Met on Return by Hisani *[TANJUG]* 68
Dizdarevic Sends Congratulations to Bush *[POLITIKA 22 Jan]* 68
Dizdarevic Receives Message From PLO's 'Arafat *[TANJUG]* 68
Milosevic Holds Talks With USSR's Zaykov *[TANJUG]* 68
Workers Continue Strikes in Kosovo Province *[Belgrade Radio]* 69
Further Coverage *[TANJUG]* 69
Kosovo Trepca Combine Situation 'Difficult' *[TANJUG]* 69
Statement Issued on Kosovo Political Situation *[TANJUG]* 70
Kosovo Communities Differ About Suvar *[BORBA 26 Jan]* 71

Belgrade LC Withholds Confidence in Suvar *[BORBA 24 Jan]* 71
Serbian Presidency Meets, Discusses Unity *[TANJUG]* 72
Assesses Crisis *[TANJUG]* 73
Serbian Veterans Warn of Rising Nationalism *[TANJUG]* 73
Titovo Uzice LC Warns Against 'Hostile Elements' *[Belgrade Radio]* 74
Kekovic Explains Statement on Montenegro Security *[TANJUG]* 74
Skopje LC Presidency Supports LCY Leadership *[TANJUG]* 74
Slovenia Wants 'Congress of Tolerance' *[TANJUG]* 75
FRG Accuses Airline of Abusing Asylum *[TANJUG]* 75
Goods Exchange Protocol Signed With Bulgaria *[BTA]* 76
Relations With Bulgaria, Vietnam Viewed *[TANJUG]* 76
Albanian Paper Criticized for Negative Stance *[TANJUG]* 76

Hungary's Medgyessy on Moscow CEMA Conference

AU0202155389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by Laszlo N. Sandor, in Moscow on 24 January: "Moscow Interview With Peter Medgyessy—CEMA Should Be Open—Cooperation on Market Basis—Debate on Differences of Views"]

[Text] The CEMA Executive Committee is currently meeting in Moscow. The Hungarian delegation to this 130th session is headed by Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy. On 24 January, during a break in the meeting, Peter Medgyessy received three Hungarian journalists, including our Moscow correspondent, and answered their questions.

[Sandor] We reported yesterday that our impression following the news conference was that one could also feel winds of change within CEMA. The need to strengthen openness has been on the agenda of the meeting and the participants openly admit that there is no complete consensus of views on every issue. Could you confirm this impression?

[Medgyessy] Absolutely, as far as the intentions are concerned. Indeed, strengthening openness has been one of the topics on the agenda, and this is a very important thing. However, every intention is only worth as much as we actually carry it out, and every large international organization is rather slow in implementing intentions. As for the openness, and the extent of this openness, there are different views on how to interpret this. As for the genuine economic issues, we have to discuss 21 topics on the agenda, and this is too large a number to make genuine decisions on all these issues without leaving really important issues in the background. In addition to the official agenda, informal talks are also held in the evenings concerning the future of CEMA.

However, I find it extremely positive that there is a really serious desire for dialogue. This is all the more important because several speakers claimed that, so far, we were listening to monologues, while now one can see that people are trying to listen to each other and that the speeches are interconnected. Debate is very important because the basic positions concerning the mechanisms of economic management are quite different, and there are also great differences in the development levels of the member countries. However, only debate can bring positions closer together. Therefore, I welcome the readiness to hold open debates.

[Sandor] What practical opportunities exist for the development of cooperation within CEMA?

[Medgyessy] We have to reexamine CEMA's situation and our relations with CEMA. Our fundamental goal is to create multilateral cooperation, but one has to differentiate between cooperation and cooperation within CEMA. In cases where we are unable to achieve multilateral cooperation, we have to strive to create smaller-scale cooperation. If we have to choose between signing a multilateral agreement on the basis of barter exchange or a bilateral agreement by taking market and financial relations into consideration, I think we should choose the latter. Of course, we know that this more narrow form of cooperation is not an ideal solution, but it should be clear that such cooperation could be a catalyst for multilateral relations based on financial and commodity relations.

[Sandor] Have you succeeded in achieving results in Hungarian-Soviet relations?

[Medgyessy] We did not have the opportunity to hold genuine talks on Soviet-Hungarian relations. However, we did agree with Comrade Talyzin, my partner on the Hungarian-Soviet mixed committee, that he would visit Hungary at the beginning of February, and that we would then be able to clarify and resolve all the problems that prevail in our cooperation this year, and also discuss long-term concepts.

[Sandor] We know that the report of the committee headed by Academician Bogomolov has been one of the main issues on the agenda of these talks. Have there been genuine debates on this?

[Medgyessy] In fact, such issues are naturally discussed at the expert level and not at the executive committee level. I was glad to see that the Soviet position is close to ours on the need to implement the entire modernization in a complex way and not by selecting one issue or another. It seemed that several delegations had views similar to ours in the informal debate on modernization; however, no other country agrees totally with us on the issue of modernization as a whole. A common stand can only emerge through debates.

[Sandor] You are representing Hungary at such a level for the first time. To what extent has the current CEMA meeting justified your previous expectations of CEMA, and to what extent has it not justified these expectations?

[Medgyessy] I have already participated in CEMA committees, but this was the first time I attended a session of the Executive Committee. As for my preliminary concepts, some of them have been justified. I thought that these cover mainly strategic-type concepts. The reality is that we get lost in too many details. As for the tone and style of the debates, these were better than I had expected. I had thought that the talks held in this forum would be too diplomatic in their nature and style, so the open atmosphere of the debate was a pleasant surprise for me.

[Sandor] Has the issue of CEMA-EEC cooperation been discussed?

[Medgyessy] Yes. It is a good thing that there is full understanding between the Hungarian stand and several other CEMA countries that CEMA should not strive to achieve autarky, but rather that it should be open to other economic alliances, and that it should also open up to the EEC.

Report on Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum

Agricultural Measures Analyzed

AU0302142089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 89

["Decision of the Seventh AWP Central Committee"]

[Text] The Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum was devoted especially to agriculture. It analyzed the achievements attained to date with regard to the development of agricultural production and centered its attention on determining measures to open up new prospects for the development of productive forces and social life in the countryside.

Throughout their economic and social activity, our party and socialist state, consistently following Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, have always placed and continue to place the development of agriculture at the center of their attention. In the interest of the development of the countryside, the development of productive forces in agriculture, and raising the material and cultural standards of the population, a complex program has been implemented to effect capital investments, to ensure the proper course of demographic processes, to set up industries in the service of agriculture, to apply the attainments of science, to train specialists, to raise the qualification of the working masses, and to raise the well-being of the peasantry.

In the course of this process of transformation and progress, agriculture has become increasingly a matter that concerns all the people. Agricultural production in the lowlands and highlands has been intensified, production has increased more rapidly than the population, and the fundamental differences between the countryside and the cities have been gradually narrowed. Despite the rapid development of industry, agriculture provides more than 2/5 of the national income, covers the population's needs for bread and the overwhelming part of foodstuffs, provides raw materials for the food and light industry, provides a considerable share of the state's financial resources, and provides the main source of the real income of the peasantry. Agriculture is thus a primary factor in securing the stability of our socialist economy and the country's independence.

Taking into consideration the general achievements and the experience that has been accumulated, the Seventh AWP Plenum stressed the indispensable need to secure the further development of agricultural production in all regions. The plenum took into consideration the opportunities provided by the socialist system of agriculture, the productive and scientific potential that has been created, and the growing needs of the population and the economy for agricultural and livestock products. The Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum showed its appreciation for the decisions adopted by the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives and for the determination of our peasantry to progress further on the road of consolidating the cooperative system. The plenum considered that the proposals and suggestions presented during the popular discussion held prior to the congress, as well as during the proceedings of the congress itself, with regard to the development of productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations in agriculture are just and correct. On this basis, the plenum ordered that agriculture should be given more powerful material, technical, and scientific support, and that some important improvements should be made in the field of economic relations in the countryside. On this basis, the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum decided:

To strengthen the material-technical base in the service of agriculture:

1. Agricultural land is to be protected, increased, and enriched by tightening up state regulations in this field. In order to speed up the action for its reclamation, the Council of Ministers is to define the necessary measures and set out tasks to reclaim 9,000 hectares of virgin land in the coastal regions and 2,000 hectares along river beds by 1995. New land is also to be reclaimed in other regions. Within this period, 10,000 hectares of saline and sandy soil are to be improved. The period from 1989 through 1991 is to be characterized by mass actions for the calcination of acid and magnesium-bearing soil. This process is to be carried out on 32,000 hectares of land through state investments and the means of the cooperatives themselves. The tradition of producing calcium in simple furnaces is to be renewed.

2. The construction of main irrigation and land reclamation projects is to be speeded up, including the Banje project and the Metallaj, Borile, Panahori, Levinje, and other reservoirs. The Council of Ministers is to secure additional investments and the necessary material-technical base for this purpose. To serve this objective:

a) the technical equipment of the land reclamation enterprises is to be renewed within 2-3 years and their transportation pool to be strengthened by 200 heavy trucks;

b) the construction enterprises are also to be involved in the construction of irrigation and land reclamation projects, mainly in those requiring large investment funds; water management enterprises are to be further strengthened in order to enable them to cope better with their work of clearing and maintaining the irrigation and drainage network.

c) studies are to be completed during 1989 to raise the height of dams of operational reservoirs; the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Construction are to adopt the necessary measures to ensure that the results of these studies be implemented by the end of 1993; the Ministry of Agriculture is to study and define the areas where irrigation through electrical pumps is to be extended, determining also the concrete tasks to be carried out during the 1989-1990 period.

d) The entire reconstruction of the irrigation network is to be completed within 2-3 years.

3. Special attention is to be paid to the complementing and renovating the pool of of agricultural machinery. In this context, the degree of mechanization of agricultural work in the northeastern regions is to be further increased. By 1990, agriculture is to be supplied, over and above the current plan, with 1,000 tractors, 200 self-propelled combine harvesters, as well as trucks and other agricultural machinery. The engineering industry is to react speedily to some observations made about its work by the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, and must increase the quality of spare parts and their longevity. The engineering plants in the districts are to be put in a better position to serve agriculture. The state organs are to guarantee the repair of machinery at the disposal of agricultural cooperatives.

4. The Council of Ministers is to adopt the necessary measures to speed up the construction of new chemical fertilizer plants. The extension of the Lac Chemical-Metallurgical Combine is to be completed within 1989. By 1992, the entire production of superphosphates must be granulated. The new urea plant in Fier is to be commissioned 6 months ahead of schedule. Within the current 5-year period, a number of additional microfertilizer plants are to be built. Needs for pesticides are to be met in conformity with agrotechnical norms.

5. Everyone must be made aware that agriculture cannot progress without adequate supplies of organic fertilizers. Measures are therefore to be adopted by the agricultural cooperatives themselves to increase the production of organic fertilizers and to use them more efficiently. For this purpose, the volume of investments effected by the agricultural cooperatives, as well as by the state, is to be increased.

On some tasks concerning the production plan in agriculture:

1. The strategic task of agriculture is to secure the production of bread grains and other foodstuffs for the population, to supply the market in conformity with the purchasing power of the population, and to raise incomes from exports. Improvements are to be made in the structure of crops, as well as in the livestock sector, taking into consideration the self-sufficiency of districts with regard to the production of vegetables, potatoes, beans, and agricultural products; the degree of production efficiency; the possibility for profitable exports; the extension of areas specializing in livestock-raising; and the demands made by the planning methodology, particularly with regard to the procurement indexes.

2. The party's aim to ensure the production of wheat bread for the population throughout the year must be borne in mind in planning the balance of grains to be produced. This also reflects the needs of the livestock sector. Therefore, a radical change in the production of corn is to be made within the current 5-year period.

3. With regard to industrial crops, agricultural workers must make efforts to raise yields, to assure stability in production, and to raise the qualitative indexes of these products and the degree of their useful processing.

4. The production of all kinds of fruit is to be increased more rapidly. Compared with 1985, olive production is to be doubled by 1990, and the yield of other fruit-bearing trees is to be doubled and tripled by 1995. The Union of Working Youth of Albania is to continue the mass actions with regard to olive cultivation and to extend other actions with regard to other fruit trees in those districts where large plantations exist.

5. The change that has taken place in increasing the number of livestock and in ensuring the fodder base is to be consolidated and furthered. By the end of the next 5-year period, the number of sheep and goats is to reach 4.2 million head. As a rule, in the lowland areas, 4-5 head of sheep or goats must be kept for every head of cattle. Special attention is to be paid to improving the structure of herds, particularly with regard to cattle. With regard to cows, the main way to increase production must be by raising yields. The number of livestock per hectare of arable land is to be increased in conformity with forage resources, and increased quantities of soya and hay are to be used.

6. The use of selected seeds and improved breeding of livestock must constitute a powerful source of increased production in all districts. The scientific and agricultural research institutes are to further intensify their studies and to increase their efforts for the application of advanced technologies in production. The higher schools are to train specialists with broader horizons, in conformity with the needs of intensive agriculture.

On the further improvement of socialist relations in agriculture:

In order to stimulate the initiative and interest of the cooperative members and promote the development of agricultural and livestock production, the following measures are to be adopted:

1. A planning methodology incorporating broader authority for the districts and the base is to be applied in 1989 in agriculture, in the districts of Korce, Tirane, Durres, Vlore, Fier, and Shkoder, but not in the districts of Elbasan, Lushnje, and Permet, where experiments have already been taking place. By 1990, this is to be applied in all districts. The indexes for the delivery of agricultural and livestock products, the acreage of land devoted to the production of bread grains, the number of cattle in the livestock sector, the number of fruit trees, and the acreage of new land reclaimed are to be included in a centralized register.

2. The organizational and personnel structure is to be determined by the agricultural cooperatives themselves, in conformity with the needs of production and its distribution, the technical and technological progress, and the services to the population. Their regulation is to be effected taking into consideration the experienced gained to date and the maintenance of correct proportions between the number of cooperative members and officials.

3. The quantity of products deriving from the personal plots of the cooperative members and from the plots at brigade-level, including milk, meat, wool, beans, vegetables, potatoes, and so forth, is to be increased and distributed to the cooperative members at the actual cost, but not more than the collection price paid by the state.

4. In order to implement the proposals that the remuneration of cooperative members and cadres be more directly related to production and to make it conditional on the quantity, quality, and cost of production:

a) The brigades which overfulfill planned tasks are to be additionally remunerated with the total value of the products produced over and above the plan, separately for every product, and deducting the above-plan expenditure and an amount for accumulation; the payment of the complementary remuneration is to be made at the end of the year, and on condition that the brigade fulfill the overall income plan; the advanced brigades which plan and fulfill tasks that are over and above the progressive average of the cooperative, are to be remunerated with a daily value or working norm that is up to 20 percent higher than the average for the cooperative; in the case of particular brigades whose low production results are judged to be a consequence of the poor work of its members, remuneration can be reduced up to 50 percent; in the case of brigades that overfulfill their tasks in agricultural enterprises, the complementary remuneration can be up to 50 percent of the above-plan production, after deducting some expenditure.

b) The pay of leading cadres and specialists in agricultural cooperatives is to be formed by the state's portion, which is a fixed annual amount and is differentiated in accordance with various zones, and by the proportion paid by the cooperative, which is based on the general remuneration of members or on working norms; the cadres are to be remunerated over and above their nominal pay to the extent of the degreee of plan overfulfillment.

c) The amount of remuneration for agricultural workers is to be increased in conformity with raising the level of their qualification.

5. The contracts for the collection and distribution of agricultural and livestock products, the demands on and economic obligations of the trade and industry organs, as well as of the agricultural economies, are to be tightened; the organs responsible for the collection of agricultural and livestock products are also to provide the necessary material and technical base, and will have the duty to follow up the development of the various crops at different stages, paying a proportion of the value of the contracted products in advance; the collection of agricultural products directly from the fields is to be further extended, improving standards at the same time; laboratory equipment in the agricultural economies and the collection centers is to be increased in order to achieve a better assessment of the quality of agricultural and livestock products.

6. The participation of state investments in the zone designated for priority intensification and in the higher-type agricultural cooperatives is to be targeted primarily at the development of the livestock and horticultural sectors; the state organs and cooperatives are to keep separate accounts of state investments effected for every production unit; the state is to extend its participation to include the turnover funds of the higher-type cooperatives and in the zone designated for intensification.

7. The collection of the net centralized state income in cooperatives is to be the subject of experimentation on the basis of general annual tariffs, in the same way as is done in state agricultural enterprises; the price of deliveries of livestock products, particularly in regions with a cold climate, are to be reviewed, as well as the price of the means of production and service tariffs paid by the state to cooperatives in highland and hill regions, in order to stimulate production in these regions.

8. Cooperative trade in the cities and work centers is to be extended and viewed as an important component of the entire system of retail trade. With the exception of grains and industrial crops, all agricultural and livestock surpluses secured above the production plans and contractual agreements, as a result of the efficient use of other internal reserves, or from articles that are not contracted for, products secured from the personal plots of cooperative members, or from products secured from the industrial processing of the cooperatives themselves, can be sold in the cooperative markets.

9. Inter-cooperative trade and production cooperation is to be supported. With their own funds, but also with state credits, the cooperatives are to increase activities of an industrial and pre-industrial nature through a more extensive utilization of natural resources, including those that are state property.

10. The proposals of cooperative members for a reduction of the retirement age for mothers with a number of children and for men are being studied by the Council of Ministers with the intention of finding ways of implementing them. Every cooperative is to decide on the establishment of a system of paid annual leave on the basis of its economic potential.

The party and the state are to constantly increase their care for the development of agriculture, the progress of the countryside, and the consolidation and further promotion of the cooperative order. The state and economic organs, together with the party organizations in the districts and agricultural cooperatives, according to their specific conditions, are to work out the material of this plenum and adopt measures for the implementation of the tasks arising therefrom.

As a jubilee year marking the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation, let 1989 be a year of massive actions, a year of work and creative activity for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans in the agricultural sector. The AWP Central Committee is fully convinced that the workers class, the cooperative members, and all the working people will, as always, mobilize all their energies to attain new victories in the struggle for implementation that arises from the decisions of this plenum.

Tirana, 2 February 1989

Alia Addresses Plenum

AU0502134889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, at the 2 February session of the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum in Tirana—recorded]

[Text] A lot has been said in recent years about the problems in agriculture. The country's socio-political and economic thinking has been strongly active in promoting the cooperative system and the construction of socialism. The Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives became a forum for the most advanced thinking of the people and specialists working in agriculture for the further development of the socialist system in the countryside.

In forming the conclusions emerging from the popular discussion, this plenum of the AWP Central Committee must heed the recommendations and proposals in order to further increase the driving force of economic relations in agriculture and create more favorable conditions for the development of the creative initiative of the peasantry, to increase the solicitude shown by all society for this branch.

We must transform the will of the masses into political decisions. Great concern was shown here by the comrades in their contributions and the same spirit characterized the report delivered by Comrade Adil. I am in agreement with all the ideas expressed by the comrades and with their proposals. Our socialist agriculture has successfully played and continues to play its role as a basic branch of the economy. It has become a main factor for the stability of social production. Material goods of ever greater proportions are being obtained from nature in Albania through agricultural activities. The socialist system of agriculture has demonstrated indisputable proof of its efficiency and innovation.

We are aware of the achievements in this branch. They were best demonstrated by the Sixth Congress of Agricultural cooperatives. However, at this meeting, and justly so, our attention was devoted to some critical problems that have emerged in recent years. The historic victories of our agriculture are not obscured if we point out some weaknesses and if we seek a way to overcome them.

A careful study of figures shows that despite the achievements attained, we must not be complacent about the state of agricultural production, particularly if we look at the figures on per capita production and production per unit of manpower. With the exception of wheat and cotton, the yields of other crops, as well as the yields in the livestock sector, have not risen or have risen very little during the past decade. Naturally, this state of affairs is not a result of the social system in agriculture. Its vitality as a strategy of development has been proved absolutely. This state of affairs is a product of a number of circumstances such as the persistent drought in recent years, the difficulties of encirclement from outside, and so forth. Agriculture is the branch that has been affected more than any other branch by natural factors. Meanwhile, as is the case throughout the economy, it has also had its limitations in the material sector. With the exception of manpower and the number of livestock, almost the entire material-technical base in the service of agriculture has remained at the level of 1988. Undoubtedly, subjective factors have also had a role in this situation.

On the other hand, we cannot complain about the consciousness of the working peasantry or its willingness to work. Another reason is that certain aspects of economic relations in agriculture have gradually exhausted their motivating power and are in need of further improvement. Intervention has become essential at all links in this chain. We are conscious of the fact that the further continuation of this state of affairs would be accompanied by harmful political effects.

The people themselves, the cooperative peasantry itself, have shown us the way along which we must progress to achieve the necessary improvement with their party-minded discussions before and at the Sixth Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives. The measures included in the decision that we are going to approve concerning economic relations in agriculture are feasible owing to our long experience of socialist construction in the countryside under conditions of a consolidated and progressing socialist order. These measures are dictated by the need to increase production, its efficiency, the need for technical and scientific progress, and the intensification of agriculture. Cooperativism is and will remain to the end a system with prospects.

As you may have observed, the draft decision stipulates measures for positive changes in the major aspects of economic relations in the countryside. We can therefore talk about a complex of measures. This is legitimate. Agricultural production cannot progress through measures that affect only narrow aspects of the matter, mainly of a technical and organizational nature. The proposed changes are interlinked. One measure supports and strengthens the other. Thus, united in a system, they gain greater value as a whole. In their complexity, they will provide us with the opportunity of utilizing the advantages of the cooperative system to a greater degree. This must be well understood. Because this is the only way in which the measures that are being proposed can be properly and correctly implemented. The initiative of the peasantry cannot be stimulated and production cannot be increased if the cooperatives are not given more room to maneuver in the field of planning, as well as more authority in the field of organization and in the appointment of cadres; if remuneration is not tied up with production, for both cooperative members and cadres; if those who work better are not better remunerated; and if the brigades capable of producing milk and vegetables from their plots at a lower cost do not distribute their products to the members at a more profitable price than those brigades whose production costs are higher.

The measures we are going to adopt at this plenum are important, but not unknown. They have been the subject of public discussion. Studies and experiments have been carried out, calculations have been made, and debates have taken place. Maturity in this process is a prerequisite for success, in contrast to haste and amateurism, which would severely hinder us. The proposed improvements are a step in perfecting our agrarian policy. The relationship between varied interests, the links between centralism and initiative, the proportions of accumulation and consumption, and the price and pay differentials are all part and parcel of a genuine economic policy. I would like to stress once again that the aim of the measures we are adopting by reinforcing the material and technical base, as well as in improving economic relations, is to increase agricultural and livestock production, the stimulation of creative initiative, and the stimulation of the interest of the working people in higher results with regard to all crops.

The most sensitive aspect of all these relations is remuneration. As is known, the present mechanism allows levelling, makes unjust remuneration possible, and control over the volume of work is weak. Therefore, as the mass of cooperative members justly demands, a new mechanism for of remuneration must be established, which seeks to exclude unjust benefits. This is important and principled. If we want development, we must support and stimulate those who are more advanced and who, on the basis of the present system of remuneration, is dealt with on an equal basis with those who exert themselves less. This paradox arises from a schematic understanding of the interests of people. The party and Comrade Enver have said repeatedly that the general interest stands above all else. We adhere to this fundamental principle. However, this does not mean that the interest of the group or of the individual must be neglected in the name of the general interest. The harmonization of interests is not a matter of theory alone. The party's policy itself places man at the center of attention, together with his legitimate aspirations and interests. Under present conditions, the material interest of the people working in the agricultural sector cannot be achieved and increase, unless the forms of remuneration are perfected, unless this remuneration is more firmly tied up with the degree of the fulfillment of plans and with efficiency. There will be some differences between the remuneration of those cooperative members who perform better, compared with those who work less. But we must accept this, keeping in mind that in this way we are better off applying the principle of pay according to work. Egalitarianism is always to the benefit of those who seek from society more than they are prepared to give it.

Our socialist order, which belongs to the broad working masses, progresses and develops with their participation and on the basis of their free work and initiative from below. Therefore, the draft decision stipulates a number of measures intended to stimulate the initiative and the revolutionary and independent action of the working people. Consciousness alone is insufficient to stimulate initiative. Favorable conditions must be created. The degree of initiative is determined by the norms regulating relations in society, by the regulations, links, and the interdependence between the center and the districts. Proceeding from this, we are justly proposing to extend the authority of the base regarding planning, personnel, and the appointment of cadres. Currently, production initiative cannot be stimulated unless the cooperative is given a free field of action regarding planning, unless the rights of the base is extended to suit management and organization to concrete conditions. This measures will increase the sense of responsibility of the working people concerning plans and tasks. Mechanical operations and those dictated from above will be restricted. The cooperative members will be trained to act independently and to resolve their problems and needs democratically, instead of relying on the state. The productive opportunities created will be used more profitably.

The initiative of the masses is a matter of capital importance for our country. In the bourgeois society, it is profit based on exploitation and competition that stimulates production. Initiative and the revolutionary and independent action of the masses, on the other hand, is the driving force in socialism. Life has taught us this: The centralized management of the economy cannot provide the desired results without initiative from below. Democratic centralism is transformed into bureaucratic centralism, unless the participation of the masses in the management of social property and in the country's administration is constantly extended. Centralism is essential in all matters pertaining to the fundamental relationships and the cardinal priorities of the development of the economy and culture. But centralism is transformed into bureaucracy if it atrophies the thinking of people, if it restricts debate, if it turns the

masses into mechanical performers, and if it interferes down to the minutest technical aspects of productive activity. The party must therefore deregulate those norms and rules that have replaced initiative with command, which is the foundation of bureaucratic comfort. Initiative brings not only economic benefits, but also political and social benefits. Initiative helps develop creative and constructive debate, and cultivates democracy. Initiative enables the masses to exert their authority directly and to play the decisive role that is theirs in the construction of socialism and the development of the country's economy and culture.

A number of other measures have been formulated in the draft decisions in favor of the cooperatives in their relations with the state. These measures do not constitute a privilege for the agricultural workers, but regulate and defend their rights by law, in conformity with present conditions. They form a sound base enabling the group and state property to cooperate more fruitfully, to give and take mutually and in the general interest. The proposals made in connection with the price mechanism, the methodology of enacting contracts, financial relations, investments, and in other directions, in addition to their economic aspects, also have special social and political aspects. They are intended to create more suitable conditions to enable group property to operate as such, to constantly expand its production opportunities, to raise the living standard of the peasantry, and to ensure that the productive activity of the cooperatives is also strengthened by the function of distribution.

Everyone must understand the decisions pertaining to the consolidation of the material and technical base of agriculture. People might even ask for more, as they have done. Who does not understand the need for more tractors, more water, more organic and chemical fertilizers, and more selected breeds and seeds? This aspect of the decision that we are adopting can therefore be explained more easily. The difficulty in understanding and implementing arises in the matter of perfecting production relations. This is what the party must explain. It must be understood that the measures for the perfecting of production relations have become essential as a result of the dynamic development of the economy and life in the countryside itself. They seek to further revitalize and further promote the economy. We are dialectic in theory, but we must always be dialectic in practice also.

The evolution of the objective situation in the economy and social life makes changes in relations and improvements in the existing regulations, norms, and instruments indispensable. They become outdated and lose their incentive role and must be changed in order to respond to new conditions and provide new impulses to development. There is nothing wrong with this. What is of major importance is that all changes must take place in conformity with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and in the interest of socialism. It is essential to bear in mind, first, that whenever changes become necessary to further promote development there must be no hesitation in making relevant suggestions. Timidity and slowness only increase difficulties and hinder development; secondly, we must never think that the measures in the field of economic relations are given once and for all time and that, when adopted, they have only positive effects; that they are ideal and without potential shortcomings. Such measures do not exist. The decisions to be approved by this plenum are also generally intended to bring positive consequences in their wake, but no one can say that they leave absolutely no way open for narrow interests.

Providing supplementary remuneration to brigades for the overfulfillment of plans and conditioning the remuneration of cadres to a greater degree on the value of the remuneration of cooperative members, for example, there exists the possibility of the manifestation of pressure from the base for low planning norms. Insisting on the need to perfect socialist relations in agriculture, we proceed from the fact that the productive forces in the countryside are more advanced in the current stage of development and can be given a further impetus. However, this does not mean that we must expect increased agricultural production from these operations alone. The measures that we are going to adopt will bring positive results for a long time, but we must continually strengthen them, in conformity with the possibilities of our society, with material assets and investments, making reconstructions and renovations, and complementing the material and technical base of agriculture. This is also necessary because in this field there is amortization, there are lags, and there are disproportions.

We are confronted with the task of raising the degree of intensification in agriculture. This requires a frontal promotion of the productive factors and their harmonization at a new level. Nature is generous and, contrary to all other production means, the soil becomes more fertile the more it is properly cultivated. Investments in agriculture are never excessive. Proceeding from these considerations, as well as from the fact that society has in recent years been somewhat of a debtor to agriculture, a number of measures are being proposed to this plenum to increase the material and technical base of this branch over and above current plans. If reconstruction and technical and technological renovation are becoming increasingly more an essential imperative in the economy as a whole, agriculture must rightly be placed at priority level. In doing this, we must accelerate the construction of a number of important projects in the chemical industry, which has been lagging for various known reasons and difficulties. The experience in recent years, characterized by prolonged droughts, induces us also to think about accelerating the construction of new irrigation projects. The attention of economic organs must therefore be directed increasingly more toward agriculture.

In supplying agriculture with the material base, it is necessary to relinquish some mistaken concepts. Agriculture always produces, is the thinking, therefore, when it

comes to the rescheduling of projects, agriculture is among the first to suffer. Then, when machinery is lacking, when water is short, and when herbicides are not provided in sufficient quantities, the instruction comes: increase labor. But can the planned yields be attained in this way? It is therefore essential to implement in full the tasks now being posed.

The stability of the population and manpower in the countryside is one great advantage that we enjoy in our country. The party's policy will continue in the future to ensure that the major proportion of new manpower be employed in agriculture. We have said and continue to say that temporary production material shortages will be replaced by manpower. But the rising degree of intensification of agriculture will make it less possible to replace one factor with another, the less possible will it be to complement the lack of machinery and means of transportation with labor, the less possible will it be to use organic fertilizers to replace chemical ones, the less possible will it be for pastures to make up for low yields in forage crops. Naturally, demands for increased investments in agriculture presuppose an increased sense of responsibility by cooperative members, cadres, and managers in this branch in raising to a higher degree the efficiency of their work. The maximum results must be derived from labor.

Progress in the direction of an agriculture with markedly biological characteristics requires more livestock, more organic fertilizers, and rational crop rotation. Agricultural production is conditioned by numerous factors, soil, breeds, and seeds are of primary importance. They consolidate or devalue the operation of all other factors. The efforts to protect and preserve the acreage of arable land per capita of the population must be a constant factor in our agrarian policy. We must take care of the soil to feed the crops better. We must increase soil fertility. The productive characteristics of imported breeds must be cultivated also in our domestic breeds. They must be protected against degeneration. We must cross-breed and select the biological material inherited.

Under prevailing conditions, it is better that we should seek relatively high productivity on a large scale and with the least expenditure than limited record yields. Stable productive breeds are created when tradition is combined with science. Foreign specialists familiar with our domestic breeds have said, even recently, that it is possible, through scientific work, to create breeds from our existing stocks, with even better qualities than those that we have been importing, more resistant, and capable of providing satisfactory yields with the forage base at our disposal. The goat of Has, of Vali in Martanesh, the she-goat of Moker, the sheep bred in Lume and Tropoje, the cows bred in Shkoder and in Mursia, which are now to be found almost uniquely in the school manuals, must not only be objects of preservation for science, but primarily a major source for the reproduction of livestock. The country's biological assets, in livestock breeding as in agriculture, are a part of our national culture created through the centuries. Therefore, indifference to it is unforgivable.

The turning point achieved during the past decade in the yields of major crops was one of the major factors for the increased production. But this can no longer meet the growing demands for even higher yields. More efforts are needed regarding the production of seeds. Our specialists in this field must be more modest. Agriculture needs seeds that are highly productive throughout the country's territory. They must be created to suit conditions in various areas and climates, not under laboratory and greenhouse conditions.

With the adoption of the decision presented to us here, agriculture will benefit from supplementary investments to the tune of about $40 million. This is a measure that must be appreciated very seriously. The state organs must implement the decision without fail, while the people working in the agricultural sector must use the supplementary assets and the entire material and technical base that we have created with the utmost efficiency.

With the decisions to be adopted, this plenum legitimizes broader authority for the workers at the base. Its decisions affect the entire mass of the peasantry, whose activity will determine to a large extent the ensuing results. The decisions must therefore be made available immediately to the mass of the people, and particularly the peasantry. Finding its own suggestions in this decision, the peasantry will certainly find more fervor at work, because it will be able to see how the party respects its revolutionary initiatives and ideas. But, as I have pointed out before, the decision needs to be further elaborated, it needs to be clarified through propaganda work, it needs to be worked out in theory and practice. This must be done thoroughly, departing from normal routine work and bureaucratic procedures with lots of words and less work. Everyone should bear in mind that difficulties and misunderstandings may arise in this process. The cadres themselves must study the decision thoroughly. I am stressing this, because clumsiness and rigidity in the effective use of economic levers derives not only from ideological narrow-mindedness, but also from the bureaucratic tendency of avoiding the bother caused by the introduction of a regulation or norm. The implementation of the decision that we are about to adopt requires without fail that the state organs should rapidly draft the necessary normative documents, regulations, and methodical charts. Care should be taken to correctly reflect in them the spirit of the plenum's decision. In particular, the field of initiative left to the masses in this decision must not be restricted in any way.

The implementation of the decision must be observed from all possible aspects, particularly the economic aspect, in order to gain from our experience, and also in

order to further respecify particular norms where necessary. Their value must be seen and measured in increased agricultural and livestock production.

Comrades, a great and persistent effort will be needed in the current year. Agriculture must fulfill its plans without fail. And not only agriculture. There must be no deviation from the planned tasks. No reallocation of foreign currency must take place. Strength and optimism must be found among our talented workers class, the industrious peasantry, the creative intelligentsia, and the devoted young people of socialist Albania. The situation requires that all the comrades in the party and the state, beginning with us here, the members of the AWP Central Committee, should be up to our job.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that despite the climatic difficulties with which we entered this year, it is still possible, through greater mobilization, to achieve the turning point required.

Khristov Meets With New Venezuelan President

AU0202192989 Sofia BTA in English
1841 GMT 2 Feb 89

["Bulgaria-Venezuela: Cooperation Activated"—BTA headline]

[Text] Caracas, February 2 (BTA)—Minister Khristo Khristov, who heads the official Bulgarian delegation to the inauguration ceremonies, today handed Mr Carlos Andres Perez, the newly elected president of Venezuela, a message of congratulations from Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria.

Mr Carlos Andres Perez expressed the conviction that the relations between the two countries will be developing more vigorously and more actively in all spheres in the best interests of the Bulgarian and the Venezuelan peoples. He said he was convinced that this will help strengthen international peace and security.

Mr Khristo Khristov also conferred with Mr Enrique Tejero, minister of foreign affairs; with Mr Reinaldo Figueredo, minister at the Presidency; and with Mr L. Sucre Figarella, minister of state for economic development. They considered the prospects for the further promotion of bilateral political, economic and cultural relations. An emphasis was laid on the favourable progress of business contacts between the two countries.

Ovcharov, Hrivnak End Cooperation Talks

AU0402190189 Sofia BTA in English
1839 GMT 4 Feb 89

["Broadening of the Cooperation With Czechoslovakia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 4 (BTA)—With the signing of a memorandum ended the meeting between the cochairmen of the Bulgaro-Czechoslovakian Committee for Economic and Scientific Cooperation. The parts of the joint committee are chaired by Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, and by Mr Pavel Hrivnak, first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovakian Government and chairman of the State Commission for Techno-Scientific Development and Investments.

Information was exchanged at the meeting on the restructuring of the national economy in the two countries and on the changes of the forms of cooperation in this connection. The agenda included the discussion of a plan for fulfilment of the tasks of the "Long-Term Programme for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia Till the Year 2000". Special attention was paid to the work on the coordination of the national economy plans for the 1991-1995 period and measures were outlined for its acceleration.

The two sides viewed also the results of the barter between the two countries during the past year and the preparation of the annual trade plan for this year.

Semerdzhiev Declines To Disclose Defense Figures

AU0702134989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian
No 6, 6 Feb 89 p 7

[Interview with Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, by unidentified POGLED reporter: "We Are Optimists"—in Sofia; date not given]

[Excerpts] A news conference took place in Sofia on the day the declaration of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee was published. We addressed questions to Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense. [passage omitted]

[POGLED] Comrade Generals, I have an easy question, because you probably will not answer it. What does the 12 percent reduction of the military budget mean? How much money is this? And if you really do not answer my question, how am I to interpret this? As a matter of tradition, security, or glasnost?

[Semerdzhiev] It is strange. You know that I cannot answer your question, and yet you are posing it.

[POGLED] Well, anyway...

[Semerdzhiev] ...So that your conscience is clear.... I would like to assure you that the only reason that prevents us from stating the specific figures of the military budget is the objectively existing situation that does not allow us to compare our expenditures with the expenditures of the other side. Even within the framework of the Warsaw Pact there is no uniform method of determining the military expenditures. When we overcome this issue, we will be able to announce the real defense expenditures.

I can give you only one example. The maintenance of the U.S. Air Force personnel amounts to $69 billion. They form their army on the principle of volunteers. We pay nothing to our regular service soldiers. We ourselves take care of their food, training, and so forth. How then can we compare the military expenditures? The price of weapons, equipment, and special property varies from one fraternal country to another. Furthermore, often the indices are contradictory. This, and not our willingness or reluctance to disclose data, is the only reason that prevents us from citing specific figures.

Delegation Leader Discusses CSCE Results

AU0302145789 Sofia BTA in English
1440 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—The great significance of the Vienna follow-up meeting and the agreements reached were stressed here today at a press conference in the Foreign Affairs Ministry with Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation.

He evaluated the Vienna final document as the most significant one after the one in Helsinki, and as the summit in the development of the Helsinki process.

Ambassador Lyuben Petrov stressed that the results of the Vienna meeting are an outcome of the new processes under way in the socialist countries which have a favourable influence on international relations. The agreements reached, he indicated, correspond to the needs of our home and foreign policy.

Dwelling in detail on the contents of the document, the Bulgarian diplomat stressed on the importance of the achievements in the military aspects of security and on the agreements on human rights issues, comprising the whole spectrum of the notion "human dimensions": political, social, economic, cultural.

He also stressed the essential place which the issues of environment preservation occupy, reminding of the result, which is significant to Bulgaria—to host the ecological meeting.

The journalists were informed, too, on the work of the Paris conference on chemical weapons ban.

Zhivkov Greets Greece's Papandreou on Birthday

AU0402182989 Sofia BTA in English
1750 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Athens, February 4 (BTA corr.)— State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov has sent a message of greetings to the prime minister of the Hellenic Republic Mr Andreas Papandreou on the occasion of his 70th anniversary. It was handed today by Bulgaria's ambassador to Greece Mr Georgi Karamanev.

The message notes the efforts of the two countries in the searching and finding of ways for activation and enrichment of their mutual relations, for strengthening of peace and security in the Balkans and in the world.

It also stresses the personal contribution of Mr Andreas Papandreou to the improvement of the international situation, to the consolidation of the constructive and clear-sighted approach to the world problems.

The message expresses conviction that Bulgaria and Greece will continue to go on the road of friendship, cooperation and understanding between them in the name of the interests of the two peoples.

Mr Andreas Papandreou assessed as excellent the Greek-Bulgarian relations, which develop in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and friendship in all spheres and are an important stabilizing factor in the Balkans. He expressed conviction that the relations and the mutually advantageous cooperation between Greece and Bulgaria will continue to be enriched and deepen in interest of the two neighbouring friendly peoples, in the name of peace and understanding in the Balkans, Europe and in the world.

Georgi Khristov Zhivkov's Obituary Published

AU0602140389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] Georgi Khristov Zhivkov, active fighter against fascism and capitalism, died on 4 February 1989.

Born on 12 January 1914 in Pravets village, Sofia Oblast, the son of a poor peasant family, Georgi Khristov Zhivkov joined the revolutionary movement in his early youth. He participated in Marxist-Leninist study circles and was active in the Botevgrad Workers Youth Organization. Arrested and expelled from Botevgrad High School, he joined the ranks of the workers class and the BCP. Persecuted by the fascist regime, he engaged in active, revolutionary activities.

Following the victory of socialist revolution, he worked at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and later at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Let us pay tribute to the bright memory of Georgi Khristov Zhivkov, the communist and citizen!

The deceased will lay in state in the ceremonial hall of the Central Sofia Cemetery on 6 February 1989 at 11:30 local time.

Correspondent to Radio Free Europe Denounced

AU0702172689 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 6, 6 Feb 89 p 11

[Paskal Andonov article: "About Freedom and About Europe"]

[Excerpts] Let me say at the very beginning that this opinion of mine was provoked by a recent commentary by Rumyana Uzunova, broadcast by Radio "Free Europe." In that commentary, presented as a posthumous review of Miron Ivanov's works, she dared to inform and lecture us about the last days of Andrey Germanov, Krustyo Kuyumdzhiev, and Rosen Bosev, and the cause of their death.... [passage omitted]

This is what Rumyana Uzunova actually said, in a very emotional manner:

"How many heart attacks, fates sealed by the treacherous solace of alcohol, and lives cut down before their time have been inscribed so far in the annals of the Writers'

Union? They do not talk about this; only tearful obituaries are published. I understand the tears, but not the silence. They keep silent about the real reasons that compelled not just one or two authors to march on persistently, as if doomed, to the detriment of their own health and against the possibility of longer life, granted by God. What was the real reason for Andrey Germanov's heart attack? None of his close friends wrote about this. Just a vague hint appeared here and there about him, Rosen Bosev, Krustyo Kuyumdzhiev, and now, about Miron Ivanov...." [passage omitted]

The truth is different. Neither Rosen Bosev nor Krustyo Kuyumdzhiev died of a heart attack, certainly not a heart attack following critical attacks against them. And if not all Bulgarian readers are aware of this, many of the writers know the truth.

Miron Ivanov, on the other hand, did die of a heart attack, and Uzunova has probably heard about it. I do not want to disturb his memory, but let me only ask one question: Why did the former literary critic Uzunova not write a positive review about him years ago? Why did she not write about their meetings when he could still hear her? [passage omitted]

Since I am referring to personal culture and professional morals, I would like to mention a conversation I had with Radoy Ralin at the end of last year. I told him then that they were mentioning his name in Munich and that Rumyana Uzunova wanted to interview him. [passage omitted]

Radoy, who does not have and has never wanted to have a telephone, answered: "She should be so lucky as to call me.... I would then ask her whom she used to extol and glorify while she was still here. Chief editors, leaders of the union.... Only the leaders and only writers who could help her...."

Rumyana Uzunova has never written positive and sensible reviews about Radoy Ralin and Krum Velichkov, and does not know writers such as Evgeniya Ivanova. However, now she is seeking them; she wants to hear their sincere opinions, and wants to be friendly with them. [passage omitted]

Let us admit it. We all know that many problems and unjust things exist in our cultural life and our society in general. We know this better than Rumyana Uzunova, because we are living amidst all this, and we hurt. It is precisely her detachment from our life that made her supplement the information she lacks with insinuations, lies, and in the final account, subjective statements, something which indicates poor professionalism. [passage omitted]

Of course, the difference between Rumyana Uzunova and Yosif Brodskiy, for example, is obvious. The Soviet poet, sentenced in a bluntly unjust manner for "loafing," did not begin to work at Radio "Liberty," but proved that he is a poet, and received the Nobel Prize.

Even if we leave the Nobel Prize aside, we could ask Rumyana Uzunova in her own style: If she had not gone to Radio "Free Europe," could she have lived and succeeded in France or the FRG only on the basis of her intellectual labor?

Perhaps it is possible, but I admit, I categorically doubt it. [passage omitted]

There also is something else. These styles, methods, and morals are characteristic of other colleagues of hers at Radio "Free Europe." They still evoke memories of a cold past and therefore they have nothing to do with freedom or Europe.

This is what distinguishes Rumyana Uzunova from the real and honest Bulgarian intellectuals.

This is so because one must not forget that they, the honest Bulgarian intellectuals, have never sold and will never sell themselves.

Cooperative Movement Debates Future of Unions

AU0302144589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Report by Dimitriana Dimitrova: "Will There Be Cooperative Unions?"]

[Text] At first everyone was unanimous, because the discussion started with the question of how to restore individual economic interest and the cooperative members' sense of personal material responsibility. None of the members of the Administrative Council of the Central Cooperative Union disputed the importance of this at the session held in Sofia on 31 January to discuss the new organization of cooperative activity in accordance with Decree No 56 on Economic Activity.

The undisputed issues on the agenda were thus finished with, but then a conflict developed on the issue of the fate of the present cooperative unions. According to the proposal of the Executive Committee of the Central Cooperative Union, the optimal solution is to change the unions into joint stock companies or international firms. The objections to this model mainly consisted of a single argument: that the functions of the unions would thereby be constricted, and accordingly the unions should be retained, as a form of association, alongside the cooperative companies.

The Administrative Council adopted a decision that the restructuring should be carried out in accordance with the wishes of the cooperative members themselves. At their own general meetings, the latter will determine

what kind of organizations will be set up. Thus, two basic principles of the cooperative movement will be preserved: the voluntary principle and democracy.

'Good' Results in Jan Industrial Production

AU0802104189 Sofia BTA in English
0937 GMT 8 Feb 89

["Good Results in Industry"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—The Bulgarian industry has turned out in January production for more than 4 billion leva and has overfulfilled the monthly plan by 0.8 percent.

There is an overfulfilment in electric energy production, trucks, electric trucks, plastics, etc.

According to data of the central management of statistics, labour productivity has increased by 5.6 percent compared to January of the past year. Pure industrial production has grown by 7.1 percent and 82 percent of the increase was attained as a result of the increased productivity.

Favourable results have been achieved in the diversifying of the range and the improvement of the consumer goods' quality. The production of such goods is to the amount of 207 million leva, or 14.4 percent, more compared to last January.

The economic life weekly writes in a commentary on the results in industry that in spite of the good achievements the planned quantities of important consumer goods have not been provided. These, according to the paper, are diary products, rise, sugar, cement, colour tv sets, knitwear and others.

As the weekly points out, many of the enterprises have not overcome the vicious practice of postponing the tasks, planned for January, for the following months.

Jakes Receives GDR Official Kolditz 7 Feb

LD0702161389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the National Front Central Committee, today received in Prague Lothar Kolditz, chairman of the National Council of the GDR National Front and member of the State Council.

He briefed his guest on the current tasks of the party and National Front in the process of changes linked to implementing our economic reform and the democratization of political and public life in Czechoslovakia.

Lothar Kolditz told him about the activities of the GDR National Front and about its role in the development of the socialist society.

The two officials exchanged views on prospects for widening cooperation between the CSSR and GDR National Fronts.

Jozef Lenart Departs for Soviet Union 7 Feb

LD0702161489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, left today for a short working visit to the Soviet Union. During the talks to be held at the CPSU Central Committee, party principles concerning topical questions of international economic integration will be discussed.

Party Presidium's Stand on Jaruzelski Visit

AU0702103189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "On W. Jaruzelski's Visit; Stand Adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [3 February] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the report on the course and results of the friendly working visit of Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, to the CSSR on 1 February. The Presidium appraised the results of the talks between Comrades Milos Jakes and Wojciech Jaruzelski and of talks between other representatives from the viewpoint of exchanging experience acquired in the restructuring process, in developing socialist democracy, and in implementing economic reforms in the two countries.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium found that the close cooperation between the CPCZ and the PZPR is significantly contributing to the development of all-around Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation and to the consolidation of friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The Presidium stressed that the agreement on CPCZ-PZPR ideological cooperation that is now being prepared, and that the overall increase in contacts, particularly between the members of the younger generation, are important steps in this direction. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium appraised the concurrence of views held by both sides on the further development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, on production cooperation and specialization, and on the establishment of joint enterprises.

It was pleased to take note of the full unity of stands on all international political issues under discussion, and of the support expressed for the positive trends in relations between the European countries.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium instructed the Communists in appropriate agencies to implement the conclusions adopted during the negotiations and to formulate new suggestions for enriching mutual cooperation along party, state, and economic lines.

3 Feb CPCZ Presidium Session Reported

AU0602121989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Report From a Session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] At its session on Friday [3 February] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium heard a report on the course of the friendly working visit to the CSSR by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council. A stand on this visit is published separately.

It acknowledged a report on the official visit by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to the Islamic Republic of Iran which lasted from 29 to 31 January. It described the results of the visit as an important stimulus for advancing Czechoslovak-Iranian economic relations. It discussed the conclusions of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. It also underlined that the final document adopted there creates prerequisites for a qualitatively higher standard of the all-European effort to develop political, economic, and humanitarian cooperation, and termed it a display of political will, realism, and the preparedness of the participating states for mutually acceptable agreements. It has been acknowledged that the full text of the final document will be published on a mass scale.

It praised the decision of the Vienna meeting to begin in Vienna this March the talks of 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO member states concerning conventional armed forces in Europe and also the talks of 35 participating states on measures for reinforcing trust and security on our continent. It noted that new possibilities for cooperation also are opening up in the economic, ecological, humanitarian, and other spheres. The aim is to reinforce security, trust, and the deepening of an all-around equal dialogue between the states with strict observance of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

The CSSR's readiness to take an active part in the further dynamic advancement of the process of all-European cooperation was confirmed.

It was recommended to the relevant Czechoslovak sectors and institutions to begin the formulation and realization of the Vienna closing document.

The Presidium also discussed the actions of the CPCZ in the international communist and workers movement. As for the continually closer relations with the fraternal parties of socialist countries, apart from the development of traditional areas of cooperation, the CPZC wishes to concentrate attention in the next period on the exchange of experiences in the ongoing process of restructuring and democratization. The CPCZ has good contacts with the majority of the fraternal parties of the rest of the world on the basis of mutual interest in developing cooperation in the struggle for social progress and peace. The CPCZ also attributed great importance to the development of dialogue with the social democratic movement.

The Presidium discussed the aims of Czechoslovak foreign policy and the primary action plan for the period up to the 18th CPCZ Congress. It emphasized that Czechoslovakia will strive with all its foreign policy efforts to ensure that the present, positive tendencies of international relations become irreversible.

It decided that on the occasion of the 41st aniversary of victorious February, gatherings or rallies of workers and youth linked to marches by units of the People's Militia will be organized in Prague, Bratislava, and in regional and, possibly, other towns. The rally of the workers and youth of the capital city, Prague, and in the central Bohemian region will take place in the old town square on Thursday, 23 February. The celebration speech will be delivered by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague City Party Committee.

The Presidium decided to call a meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Culture and Art on 13 February. It will discuss the current tasks of culture and art in the process of the restructuring and democratization of society. In this connection, it expressed support for the suggestions for realizing the dialogue on culture, restructuring, and democratization.

Chief of Staff Vacek on Pact Defensive Doctrine

LD0102112889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Report on news conference by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the CSSR People's Army, by editor Jozef Knizat, from the "Magazine" program; date, place not given—recorded, with Vacek speaking in Czech]

[Text] [Knizat] Those politicians and historians who said that the USSR's historic unilateral disarmament measures, of which Comrade Gorbachev informed the UN General Assembly, would not be the last steps by the Warsaw Pact in the sphere of conventional disarmament, were right. These were followed by similar steps by the other countries in our military defensive alliance, specifically the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the CSSR.

The publication of data on the number of armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO is the latest addition to these important disarmament efforts. The cards are on the table, and this makes it possible to conduct serious talks, which so far have been blocked by the so-called numbers barrier.

Colonel General Miroslav Vacek said on the topic:

[Vacek] I think that the published data provide a clear picture, especially about the fact that in the number of armed forces and conventional arms there is, as we have often said, an approximate military equilibrium that does not give any party the chance to claim a crucial military superiority. I speak about this because by publishing the official data on our Armed Forces, we want to demonstrate goodwill to contribute to speeding up the process of creating confidence and reducing armed forces to the level of sensible sufficiency.

[Knizat] This is, I would say, the philosophy and the expression of the political approach of the Warsaw Pact member states in applying our defensive doctrine. In the case of Czechoslovakia, we must also mention historical factors.

[Vacek] Czechoslovakia has proven in its entire history that it has no interest in any power, legal, or territorial motivation, to enter into an armed conflict with any neighbor or other state. We are a small country with limited human, raw material, and energy resources and, therefore, cooperation not only with the socialist countries but with the rest of the countries of the world is necessary for us.

[Knizat] As for working out the course of the measures that Czechoslovakia put forward with the Warsaw Pact member states, Col Gen Miroslav Vacek said:

[Vacek] The individual Warsaw Pact member states worked out independently, on the basis of their position within the Warsaw Pact, what were their strategic positions, their proposals, and no one limited them. I think (?it was more a recommendation) that the numbers of personnel and the type of technologies not differ much from one country to another. These are the first steps, and they cannot be seen as a sort of political adventure. We would be poor partners in the Warsaw Pact if we did not consult each other in formulating these proposals. We have consulted each other on these issues, exchanged views, and exchanged experience. So there was a certain coordination, but not in a sense, as many people would like to think, that it was dictated to everybody how much everybody will reduce things and what they can and cannot do.

[Knizat] Miroslav Vacek then discussed the types of weaponry that will be eliminated unilaterally. His words confirm the fact that this is not obsolete military technology but rather contemporary equipment that could be used in combat, and that also could be partially utilized in the national economy.

[Vacek] The leadership of the CSSR People's Army is considering using some tank engine components as spare parts. I would like to explain this. There was a question of whether we are eliminating obsolete or modern technology. Naturally, we will not eliminate the most up-to-date equipment. I think that you would all thank us if we did. I, however, claim that we will not eliminate old equipment that can no longer be used.

We will scrap tanks of the T-54 and T-55 series—that is, contemporary tanks that could be used for military purposes under current conditions. Because most of the tanks are T-55's or updated T-54's, it will be possible to make parts from their spare components, which is something that we would like to do as a husbandry measure. We are considering the possibility of using several dozen pieces of military equipment, those with a trailer bulldozer for trash disposal, for example, in industry. This applies also to armored personnel carriers with Tatra engines. However, the possibility of using military aircraft for civilian purposes is smaller, but there is still the possibility of using them for spare parts, mainly in the Army, for these are again various versions of contemporary MiG-21 aircraft.

[Knizat] Of equal importance is the question of what the 15-percent reduction in our defense budget in the next 2 years will amount to.

[Vacek] Naturally it will be the relevant bodies that will deal with the 15-percent issue; that is, it is above all the CSSR Government that will decide how to use these funds. We could make various comparisons. I think that I could give you an idea of this sum when I say that it is not a small one and that it is larger than the amount allocated for work on ecological investment projects in the first 3 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Those construction organizations that will be reinforced will help the construction industry in the national economy. They should make a contribution to all of society. This will amount, along with existing construction organizations such as military construction organizations, to several billion Kcs of gross production for the 5-year plan, with which we will help the national economy.

[Knizat] Our defensive military doctrine, which was formulated by the Berlin session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, has for the first time used the term sensible sufficiency. The latest steps by the Warsaw Pact are directed specifically toward its reliable implementation. This is important because talks are beginning on reducing armed forces and arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. At the same time, it is an appeal to the NATO member states to join our effort to remove asymmetry in military arms and to make a specific contribution to building greater trust and security in Europe.

'Leveling Out' Between Two Republics Detailed

AU0702191389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Svatopluk Smutny: "Do We Have Something To Be Envious of?; On the Leveling Out of the Economic Level of Our Two Republics"]

[Text] "I read with satisfaction the report on the CSSR Government session at which the state, use, and effectiveness of the manufacturing potential and the means spent on public and private consumption in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR were discussed. However, I am convinced that a flagrant abuse of the federation contributed to the claimed faster dynamism of social production in the Slovak SR. [Signed] St. Rybar, Prague 10."

The aforementioned quoted letter is long and contains a series of data drawn mainly from official sources (the CSSR Statistical Yearbook), which, for example, state that in 1986, of the entire population, the Czech SR accounted for 66.6 percent and the Slovak SR for 33.4 percent; that the share in the generation of the social product of the Czech SR was 70.3 percent and of the Slovak SR 29.7 percent; and that on the other hand spending of the state budget for the Czech SR was 61.6 percent and for the Slovak SR was 38.4 percent, and so on.

Certainly it would be possible to object that data from one year cannot be conclusive for an evaluation of the whole balance from a certain broader perspective, but likewise it is possible to counter this objection by citing a series of such indicators covering a longer period. There would be no end to the controversy. Would it not be fairer to judge the whole development, its trends, strengths, and weaknesses, and draw from them conclusions on the socioeconomic measures to be taken in the coming years and in the longer term? I think that this was the object and meaning of the recent government session and of the adopted resolution.

The 17th CPCZ Congress stated that the socioeconomic level of both our nations has in essence been evened out. It is necessary to add that the process of leveling the economic level of the republics has been taking place on the basis of increased investment and, hence, the faster dynamism of social production in the Slovak SR compared to the Czech SR. The resources of the aforementioned process were transfers of material and financial means to the Slovak SR. Nevertheless, certain differences in performance and effectiveness still persist—for example, in the creation of resources and in total costs, the Slovak SR construction industry shows worse results than that of the Czech SR; exporting from the Slovak SR places more demands on internal resources than do exports from the Czech SR, and so on.

To a certain extent, this difference is objectively conditioned by the disparate structure of the manufacturing base. But it would be a mistake to assume that the issue is of two strictly territorially divided economies. This is not the case, and it is manifested in, for example, the natural transfer of labor between the two republics for more advantageous job opportunities, and so on.

On the other hand, it is impossible not to see that the growth rate in generated national income in the Slovak SR is significantly higher. The difference in the level of generated national income per capita 4 decades ago was 60 percent, but now the Slovak SR lags only 16 percent behind, and in the calculation per employee in the manufacturing sector, only 7 percent. (This is influenced by a different demographic development.)

In 1985 the level of social productivity of labor in the Slovak SR reached roughly 92.4 percent of that of the Czech SR. But with the exclusion of the agricultural and forestry sectors, which have different natural conditions, the level of the social productivity of labor differs by only 1.2 percent.

Part of the process of this evening out is structural development. The share of industry in the aggregate generated social product of the Slovak SR increased from 45.8 percent in 1948 to 70.5 percent in 1987, and thus approached the 71.9 percent figure for the Czech SR.

In the period 1970-87 the number of employees in the national economy increased by 13.6 percent. Of this, 8.5 percent was in the Czech SR and 26.3 percent in the Slovak SR, where it was accounted for to a decisive degree by the increase in the number of inhabitants of working age. This increase was, on the contrary, very low in the Czech SR, and the work force was therefore supplemented with employees over working age (who accounted for almost 20 percent of the increase) and by the growth in the number of ancillary jobs (28 percent of the increase). In both republics the level of working people's qualifications grew, but the higher proportion of younger high-school- and university-educated employees contributes to the better qualification structure in the Slovak SR.

During the past decade a characteristic of the fixed assets (whether buildings, machines, or equipment) has been their progressive obsolescence. At the same time, however, the wear and tear on fixed assets, in view of the greater measure of investment, is lower in the Slovak SR than in the Czech SR. The differences are especially apparent in the advanced dynamism of investments in the nonmanufacturing sector in the Slovak SR, which is ahead of the Czech SR.

The degree of wear and tear on machines and equipment in industry was 56.8 percent in the Czech SR and 53.6 percent in the Slovak SR. The difference is greater in the age of buildings and constructions projects, whose level of wear and tear in the Czech SR reached 41.2 percent the year before last and 32 percent in the Slovak SR. This warrants the faster development of construction capacity in the Czech SR in the future, thus facilitating the increased modernization and reconstruction of fixed construction assets. In order to increase the Czech SR construction capacities, it is necessary to use the prepared setting up of military construction enterprises. (Viz., the resolution published in RUDE PRAVO on 28 January which set out the strengthening of Army construction organizations by at least 20,000 soldiers taken from the Czechoslovak People's Army.)

In addition, the CSSR Government resolution sets out, in conjunction with the possibilities of greater construction capacities in the Czech SR, to gradually increase the limits of budgeted expenditures, construction projects that have been started, and repair funds in organizations managed by national committees in the years 1989-90, and resources for the "Z" project [community self-improvement program].

The principle of the uniformity of the Czechoslovak economy is valid in its full extent in foreign trade activity. Gaining a better position for CSSR exports is not dependent only on the creation of commercial and political conditions, but first and foremost on the evening out of the level in the technologies and parameters of the goods offered for export. Only this will enable us to achieve greater effectiveness.

It has already been stated that the export of Slovak SR production is more demanding on internal resources. The disparate effectiveness of exports of goods from Czech and Slovak enterprises also results from this. It is comparable or better in the Slovak printing industry, in the clothing, footwear, leather fancy goods, and fur industries, but it is unsatisfactory in the chemical, rubber, plastic, wood, paper, textile, porcelain, and glass industries.

And now to the satisfaction of the material needs of the population. At the beginning of the 1980's the Slovak SR's per capita level reached the 90-percent level of the Czech SR, but then the rate of evening out slowed down. The attained per capita retail trade turnover, which reflects the provision for consumption by means of the internal market, in the Slovak SR reached 90.9 percent of the level of retail turnover in the Czech SR (since 1970 it has already grown by 7.6 percent). The level has evened out more quickly in food production (93.7 percent), while in industrial goods it hovers at around 88 percent.

The aggregate personal income continually increased more quickly in the Slovak SR, and the year before last it reached 90.4 percent of the level in the Czech SR. Also, the level of savings has grown more quickly in the Slovak SR, where, however, the level of the population's indebtedness is also higher, for its loans make up 37 percent of the national total.

In the period from 1970-1985, 1,755,000 apartments were built in the CSSR;, 625,000 of these were in the Slovak SR. Nevertheless, in Slovakia there still remains

a much higher number of households that still do not have their own apartment. Although in the Slovak SR more apartments with several rooms are built (3 rooms and more) than in the Czech SR (79.7 percent compared with 66.3 percent), the floor space per capita in the Slovak SR is 1.7 square meters less.

We only have yet to mention the relations between the state budgets of the federation, of the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR. One of the characteristic features of our budgetary system is the relatively strong state budget of the federation, in which the income created in organizations managed by the governments of the republics, especially turnover tax, is also concentrated. The overwhelming part of its expenditure is in the form of appropriation into the budgets of the republics, which again provide significant appropriations and subsidies for the budgets of the national committees. This system contributes to significant redistribution processes which are complicated and not easy to take in, and are incomprehensible to the public.

This is why the government decided to rationalize relations between the state budgets of the federation, the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR, to beef up the republics' own revenues, to limit unwarranted redistribution processes, and to apply to budget management longer-term and uniform normative [normativni] relations with respect to the distribution and use of financial resources. Furthermore, the government decided to set a faster pace in fiscal plans in bringing closer together the efficiency levels in enterprises administered by both the federal government and by agencies of the two republics' governments. With a view to establishing equal living conditions in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR, the government also decided to place public consumption expenditures on an objective footing by means of nationally uniform norms and normative rules, and so forth.

As the aforementioned material reveals, the socioeconomic levels of the two republics have really moved considerably closer together and have essentially been brought into balance. This happened on the basis of planned transfers of material and financial resources to the Slovak SR. Basic conditions have thereby been created for a balanced generation of resources and, at the same time, for tackling and eliminating the causes of the continuing differences in performance, efficiency, and quality. The accomplished aggregate balance of the two economies makes it possible to apply essentially uniform instruments of economic policy, in accordance with the principles of the new economic mechanism.

At the same time, while accentuating the economic criteria of making the use of resources conditional on their generation, we will apply within the framework of the unified Czechoslovak economy a uniform social policy, which must respect natural differences, especially in the demographic structure, in the extent of environmental pollution, in natural conditions, and the like, which is in harmony with the requirement of ensuring the rational and balanced socioeconomic development of the two republics and individual regions.

Well, do we or do we not have something to be envious of? Naturally, from the perspective of an individual or from the perspective of individual indicators, a certain imbalance persists. However, from the quantitative viewpoint, the consequences [of Slovakia's backwardness] that have historical roots have essentially been eliminated. A great deal still remains to be done to also bring the qualitative indicators to equal levels. To put it in simplified terms, in the future, material resources will matter less than putting the intellectual potential to use. The prerequisites for this have been established, and it is in the interest of the unified Czechoslovak economy that they be used as soon as possible.

Cardinal Tomasek, Adamec Exchange Letters

AU0102154389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Unity of Religious Freedoms and Civic Responsibility; L. Adamec and F. Tomasek Exchange Letters"]

[Text] Prague—The Office of the CSSR Government Presidium announced this Friday [27 January] that a few days ago an exchange of letters took place between CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec and Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek.

On 20 January Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek sent CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec a letter expressing pleasure over the adoption of the concluding document of the CSCE meeting in Vienna, and the hope that these conclusions would also have a positive significance for believers.

In another part of his letter, Cardinal F. Tomasek voiced his support for the antisocialist, illegal demonstrations in Prague, condemned the intervention by security agents, and openly indicated the possibility of confrontation.

The cardinal's letter was immediately and extensively abused by the Western media to attack the CSSR.

On 24 January CSSR Premier Adamec wrote in response to Cardinal F. Tomasek's letter:

Esteemed Cardinal, I welcome your agreement with the conclusions of the CSCE meeting in Vienna, and I agree with your appraisal of the results achieved there, both for our state and for the entire continent.

The federal government will be dealing with the implementation of this document which aims at achieving full harmony between these results on the one hand and our legal code and the practices of our state agencies on the other. We consider the implementation of the adopted commitments in any sphere, including the state's relation to the rights of churches and believers, to be a bilateral affair. But here, too, the demand for the unity of

religious freedoms and civic responsibility, for the unity of rights and duties toward society, applies. In the CSSR Government's policy statement, we declared that the government favors fully developing the justified religious needs of believers and churches, which is guaranteed by the Constitution and the law.

As the leadership of the National Front, we are striving to represent all patriotic forces, all honest and honorable people. We have unambiguously and irrevocably embarked on the course of restructuring and democratization, and we are ready to accelerate its realization. For this we need an atmosphere of creativity and businesslike discussions. Any destructive approaches, any attempts to disrupt state power will delay the progress of restructuring and threaten it. We claim responsibility for consolidating our state, which is based on the rule of law, and for having a society of citizens with equal rights and provided with a just administration and effective management. We are pleased that the citizens of our country, including believers and the representatives of churches and religious societies, have accepted the intentions of our government. We appreciate the approach of those members of the clergy who are actively helping to implement the policy of the National Front, which aims at bringing happiness and contentment to the people of our country.

I have read with attention your statement on the recent violation of Czechoslovak state laws and of normal living conditions of the inhabitants of our capital. I expected that, like our general public, you, too, would speak in favor of orderly, lawful means of resolving all the social problems. I did not expect you to remain indifferent toward attempts to abuse some of our young people for activities that are hostile to our social system and our Constitution. I respect you as a church official whose words have a considerable impact on the believers among our fellow citizens. I favor frank words, honest actions, and realistic approaches, which make it possible to find a common platform for an agreement. That is why I must state that in principle I disapprove of all endeavors to establish relations with the agencies of a socialist state on the basis of an ultimatum-like tone. Such a course does nothing to contribute toward mutual understanding, toward finding bilaterally acceptable solutions.

We are sincere advocates of a constructive dialogue between our citizens and the government. That is why our state agencies have made such a great effort to avert the unlawful actions that have been prepared far in advance; that is why they have shown such patience in their efforts to avoid exacerbating the situation. It was no fault of theirs that all manifestations of goodwill met with no success among the organizers of the demonstrations, which were directed against the basic values of our society and against order in our capital. The appropriate agencies have had to react to the purposeful policy of confrontation, to actions obstructing traffic and trade network operations and threatening normal social life in downtown Prague, and to the intentional provocations and riotious behavior, with measures for restoring order.

To excuse, justify, or even emphasize the deportment of individuals and groups whose behavior brought them into conflict with the valid legal code and with the norms of behavior suitable in the historic section of Prague, means, as a final consequence, to call for civic disobedience, to bring about anarchy, and to attack the authority of the socialist state. This has nothing to do with socialist democracy or a pluralism of views, with tolerance or respect for the views of others.

Your attitude gives the impression that you are not well-informed about the background and purpose of the events in Wenceslas Square. In my view, the true interests of believers and the clergy, and of the Catholic Church itself, would be better served by an objective, unbiased view, one free of emotions and one-sided calculations, taken from a position of responsibility for the further development of our country. Such a stand would also be in keeping with the recently reiterated wish of the Vatican, namely to reach positive state-church relations through a correct dialogue with the Czechoslovak authorities in the spirit of goodwill.

The federal government is interested in attaining the most constructive relations possible with the Catholic Church and its ordinaries—relations that would strengthen mutual trust and cooperation. Every positive contribution that proceeds from the interests of our people to live and work in an atmosphere of creativity, understanding, and the collaboration of all patriotic forces will find a favorable echo among us.

Respectfully, Ladislav Adamec, by his own hand.

The premier's reply was delivered to Cardinal F. Tomasek by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat, on 25 January. On that occasion, he stated that the premier does not consider it right that the Western communications media were informed of the cardinal's letter even before he had received a reply.

Cardinal F. Tomasek declared that he had not given his letter to the Western communications media. He spoke in favor of a constructive dialogue. According to BBC journalist Jan Bednar, the cardinal confirmed to him that he had received a reply from the premier, but said that it was "a private letter and its text is not for publication."

Immediately after receiving the reply on 25 January, Cardinal F. Tomasek delivered another letter to Premier Adamec. Dated 21 January [date as published], it differs from the first letter in content, style, and form, and its content contradict the cardinal's verbal assurances. At the time when the reply to his first letter was being delivered, Cardinal F. Tomasek did not mention any second letter. Nevertheless, this second letter, too, was immediately widely publicized and abused for anti-Czechoslovak purposes, particularly by Radio Free Europe.

It is obvious that the person of Cardinal Frantisek is being used in the effort to manipulate public opinion. It is regrettable that the cardinal's own participation is playing into the hands of this endeavor.

RUDE PRAVO Notes Anonymous Protest Threats

AU0702105889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Feb 89 p 2

[Frantisek Cinger commentary: "You Will Suffer the Consequences...."]

[Text] It is almost 2 years since, on 7 May 1987, RUDE PRAVO published a large part of a speech by National Artist Milos Kopecky at the Fourth Congress of the Union of Czech Dramatic Artists. In it he spoke about restructuring, society, and youth. His views caused great excitement and were even broadcast by Radio Free Europe.

Now Milos Kopecky has asked the editorial office to publish an anonymous note that was placed in his mailbox this week. The text reads as follow: We warn you not to take part in the actions of antisocialist agitators. We know everything about you, and you will suffer the consequences of your own actions. Keep this in mind for your own good.

Milos Kopecky informed RUDE PRAVO of this in a letter with a postscript: I think that the anonymous note should be published. If you decide otherwise, please tell me why.

The letters written using carbon paper are similar to other so-called responses recently received by the editorial office and containing the same threats: that consequences will be suffered. For example: If armed public security units or the People's Militia again take action against the demonstrators, we will be forced to use hand grenades and machineguns imported from a developing country against them. We have no connection with Charter 77; we only sympathize with it.

The secretary of the district committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association in one Czech town received a similar blackmail ultimatum that even threatened murder. Unfortunately, we could continue listing other anonymous notes. The threats appears in different forms: by telephone, in writing, and on the walls. As a matter of fact, we have already written about this.

It is clear that at a time of social changes caused and inspired by the restructuring of our society, the most varied pressures come into being, and not only pressures. The most varied extremist attitudes and approaches, which can rightly be termed psychological terrorism, appear next to serious thoughts and proposals. Whatever vocabulary they may use, one thing is certain: Similar threats must be categorically rejected and condemned.

Editorial note: Yesterday, on Friday [3 February], some RUDE PRAVO staff journalists received similar threats that are even threatening them with the gallows.

Artists Call for Release of Writer Vaclav Havel

AU0702193489 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] A petition demanding the release of writer Vaclav Havel has been signed by over 1,200 artists and intellectuals in the CSSR. The document calls on the government to establish a dialogue with the opposition. Vaclav Havel was arrested on 16 January during a ceremony commemorating the 20th anniversary of the fatal self-immolation of the student Jan Palach.

No Alternative Service for Believers Declared

AU0602173089 Prague PRACE in Czech 4 Feb 89 p 2

[Colonel Stanislav Pohoral of the Main Political Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army answers readers' questions: "Not for Soldeirs Only"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Question] Is alternative military service for believers being contemplated?

[Pohoral] Citizens who are believers have the same rights and duties in the Czechoslovak state as everyone else. From this it is obvious that they also have the same rights and duties concerning the defense of the socialist fatherland. It would be incorrect and irresponsible to give to this group of citizens more rights than other citizens have. Therefore, in the sense of the appropriate stipulations of the military law, one is not contemplating the general assignment of citizens who are believers to alternative service.

Believing citizens, provided that they are duty-bound for active military service and are physically capable of serving, have the opportunity, just as other citizens, to apply in cases of serious family and social problems to be assigned to 5-month alternative service. They can also be asssigned to this service for economic reasons. [passage omitted]

[Question] Will the personnel reductions in the Czechoslovak People's Army (CSLA) also affect civilian employees?

[Pohoral] Within the framework of the reduction of the overall numbers of the CSLA, the planned reductions of civilian employees could also be reduced. In cases when it is necessary to release civilian employees within the framework of organizational changes, each case will be dealt with individually and with sensitivity, taking the family situation into consideration. In the first place the person will be transferred to vacancies or to new functions within the framework of a unit or a garrison. [passage omitted]

Finance Ministry Official on Personnel Cuts

AU0202113189 Prague PRACE in Czech 30 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Eng Dusan Zurian, department head in the Federal Ministry of Finance, by Jitka Skaloudova in the "On a Topical Issue" column: "Turning Resolution Into Deeds"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The CSSR Ministry of Finance is the specific agency that monitors the way in which federal government resolution N. 130/1988 on manpower cuts in central agencies, and also other resolutions connected with it, are being implemented and which provides the federal government with information on this matter. A total of 5,762 employees are to be released—not only from the federal, but also from the central agencies of the Czech and Slovak SR's. The 1st year is now behind us. We asked Eng Dusan Zurian, department head in the Federal Ministry of Finance, about the results actually attained by the end of 1988.

[Zurian] A total of 4,034 employees were released from federal and republican central agencies by 31 December 1988, which means that 70 percent of the total task has been accomplished. In the Czech SR the task has been fully accomplished, and in the Slovak SR by 67.9 percent. The difference can be explained by the fact that the deadline for completing this task in the Czech SR was set for the end of 1988, while for the federal central agencies and the agencies of the Slovak SR it is 30 June 1989.

[Skaloudova] But it is not merely a matter of releasing employees, but also of giving them appropriate jobs?

[Zurian] It can be said that the release of these 4,034 employees has presented no difficulties. The vacancies in all central agencies have been abolished, and quite a number of employees have retired as old-age pensioners. However, only a negligible number of them have applied for out-of-turn, early retirement. Other employees have mostly been employed in subordinated organizations, or else the central agencies have found them jobs in organization under the management of other ministerial branches. The absolute majority of employees have left the central agencies by agreement; it is only in isolated cases that an employee was released who was protected by special provisions of the labor code, meaning that the releasing organization had to provide another, suitable job for him. And only 11 employees had to be requalified.

[Skaloudova] How are the people satisfied with their new jobs?

[Zurian] The basic problem in providing jobs for employees with university-level educations, particularly in Prague, is that of salaries. Other problems occur in placing older employees with university-level qualifications. [passage omitted]

[Skaloudova] Has the new structure helped rationalize the work of central agencies?

[Zurian] [passage omitted] The number of sections and departments has been sharply reduced—it was cut down by 794, i.e. 28.5 percent. However, we still have untapped reserves in this area. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Jan

AU2001181089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak, and VECERNI PRAHA in Czech from 13 to 19 January report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, received Peter Colotka, the new CSSR ambassador to France, in Prague on 17 January (RUDE PRAVO 18 Jan 89 p 2).

CSSR Minister of Interior Frantisek Kincl addressed the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees in Prague on 18 January (RUDE PRAVO 19 Jan 89 p 1).

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, visited the Bratislava-3 city district on 17 January (PRAVDA 18 Jan 89 p 1).

Ivan Knotek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, received representatives of churches and religious societies in the Slovak SR in Bratislava on 16 January (RUDE PRAVO 17 Jan 89 p 2). He attended a conference of state enterprise directors and central management officials in Bratislava on 17 January (RUDE PRAVO 18 Jan 89 p 2).

Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Central Committee secretary, accompanied a PDRY delegation led by 'Ali Salim al-Bid to a wreath-laying ceremony at the National Memorial on Zizkov Hill in Prague on 18 January (RUDE PRAVO 19 Jan 889 p 2).

Frantisek Pitra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech SR, toured the north Bohemian region and inspected the Jablonec glass industry works in Desna on 18 January (RUDE PRAVO 19 Jan 89 p 2).

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the party's Prague City Committee, headed the joint delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, CSSR National Front Central Committee, and CSSR Government at the festive gathering in honor of Cuban Victory Day and the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution in Prague on 12 January (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jan 89 p 1). As chairman of the Foreign Committee of the Chamber

of the People, he received U.S. Senators Mark O. Hatfield and James A. McClure on the premises of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on the same day (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jan 89 p 2); that day he also visited the construction site of the Strahov automobile tunnel in Prague (PRAVDA 13 Jan 89 p 2), chaired the Prague consultations of leading party secretaries from 10 Prague districts and other party officials (VECERNI PRAHA 13 Jan 89 p 1), and presented congratulatory letters in Prague to Karel Vorel, former official of the party's Prague Control and Auditing Commission, on his 75th birthday, and to Ladislav Demeter, head of a party city committee department, on his 50th birthday (VECERNI PRAHA 13 Jan 89 p 3). He toured the PAL Kbely automobile parts production enterprise in Prague on 13 January (RUDE PRAVO 14 Jan 89 p 2). On 15 January he attended the constituent conference of the CPCZ committee in Stodulky, a south-western district of Prague (VECERNI PRAHA 16 Jan 89 p 3). He addressed a gathering of militiamen at the CKD plant in Sokolovo on 16 January (VECERNI PRAHA 17 Jan 89 p 1). He presented the Order of Labor to Alois Gersl, secretary of the party's Prague City Committee, in Prague on 17 January (RUDE PRAVO 18 Jan 89 p 2), and attended a ceremony in honor of the 60th birthday of Bohumil Breznicky, director general of the Czechoslovak stone industry economic production unit, in Prague on the same day (RUDE PRAVO 18 Jan 89 p 2).

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, addressed the session of the CPCZ East Bohemian Regional Committee in Hradec Kralove on 12 January. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Jan 89 p 2)

Politburo Meets on Constitution, Personnel

LD0702232189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] The party Politburo proposed that the concept of the new constitution be discussed by the Central Committee on 20 February and that the National Assembly also debate it as soon as possible. The Politburo decided this at its discussions on Tuesday [7 February].

The body prepared for the session of the Central Committee on Friday [10 February], debating the topical political topics to be presented there.

At the consultation they listened to the report submitted by General Secretary Karoly Grosz.

As for the Constitution, the Politburo stipulated that the concept will have to be submitted to a wide-scale social debate, and that before the statute takes effect it will have to be preceded by a referendum.

At its session the Politburo also decided on personnel issues.

'Alternative' Groups Hold Debate on Constitution

LD0102085889 Budapest MTI in English 2048 GMT 31 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—Representatives of seven alternative organizations voiced their views to legislators on the concept of the new constitution under preparation, on Tuesday [31 January] in Budapest.

In his introduction, Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar called attention to the fact that the aim of the planned fundamental law is, among other things, to express the continuity of the 1000-year-old Hungarian state and, breaking with the fundamental law passed in 1949 and essentially valid today, to integrate it among the European constitutions. He termed it important to separate by Constitution the three branches of power - parliament, government and the court. The minister discussed the court of constitution to be introduced as an organ that also supervises the activity of parliament. An alternative proposal in the concept of the new constitution is to create the institution of ombudsman, the spokesman of civic rights.

Several alternative organizations were of the opinion that the new constition should not include the word socialism, or the adjective socialist, as the concept cannot be legally grasped. Several participants noted that social equality should also be extended in the law to the persons of differing political convictions and world outlooks. The speakers also agreed it should be set down that a member of an armed body or a judge cannot be a member of any party.

The representative of the Federation of Free Democrats termed the draft legal measure as a basis for negotiations as it contains the minimum of a constitutional state. However, he termed it a post-Stalinist constitution in its editing and language. In his view, the fundamental principles of the Constitution should set down that no single political group or party can monopolize people's sovereignty, the parties should be delimited from the state, and that human rights are invaluable.

The representative of the Independent Smallholders' Party was of the opinion that parties that represent national interests will be seated in the parliament of the future, and therefore proposed a register election system. According to representatives of the New March Front and the Glasnost Club, the Constitution should provide a guarantee for private property, and also proposed institutionalizing the interest coordination of the political parties.

Pozsgay, Berecz Address Film Festival

LD0502223389 Budapest MTI in English 1816 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 5 (MTI)—The 21st Hungarian film festival continued in the Budapest Convention Centre on Sunday [5 February] with a conference on the state of film and television culture. The conference was addressed by Janos Berecz, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, both members of the HSWP Political Committee.

The starting point of the conference was the position of the Federation of Hungarian Film and Television Artists. The debate material terms as catastrophic the current cultural situation, and the reduction of the budgetary sources available for arts and education. Within this, it holds the situation of Hungarian film and television culture, and particularly of Hungarian television to be grave. The material calls for working out an independent media law, and the possibility of founding independent radio and television stations in connection with the new constitution. It also holds it important that the president of Hungarian television be elected by parliament, and its work be supervised by an independent social organization.

Author Istvan Csurka, discussing the management of television, set forth that it cannot remain the monopoly of one single party. In his view, at least one of the channels should be made available to the various other forces of society.

Addressing the debate, Mr Berecz noted that the reform of the system of political institutions—as it is an unknown road—is being realized, although slowly. However, in the field of intellectual life, no conception even exists at present for the reform. The only event that took place is that the market has broken into culture, however, this mainly assisted dilettantism, and pressed artistic professionalism into the background.

Mr Pozsgay repeated one of his former statements, according to which television belongs to the nation, its supervision to the government. He added that this supervison is authentic only if the country has a government that was approved by the people. Mr Pozsgay was of the opinion that the debt of the power toward society is more serious than the current economic crisis and budgetary deficit. The political fight has begun in the interest of legitimacy, and it has begun publicly, Mr Pozsgay said.

Geza Kotai Questioned on Warsaw Pact Membership

LD0702135689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] A statement recently came as a novelty, the substance of which was that alternative organizations and groups can also be involved in foreign policy. To put it in another way: The monopoly of Hungarian diplomacy and the MSZMP over foreign policy is ended. Well, if this is so, the question then arises: Where is the limit? This is what I asked the author of that statement, Geza Kotai, head of a Central Committee department:

[Begin recording] [Kotai] The limit has to be the representation of the Hungarian national interest or, as a minimum, that the various persons and associations, in the course of cultivating their international relations, should not harm Hungarian national interests.

[Unidentified presenter] What do you mean by saying that the various associations and persons have to respect the national interest? Who is to decide what is the national interest?

[Kotai] Of course, this can vary. It could be modified within changing domestic political circumstances and a changing world. However, there are a few basic rules which, I think, can be formulated unambiguously. First of all, more than 150 states of the world observe the provisions of the UN Charter. Obviously, any violation of this would damage the Hungarian nation. I consider it obvious, and I think that every sensible person in this country believes that the human rights declaration has to be respected and, if possible, it has to be enforced in our daily life. The countries and peoples of Europe have suffered and struggled a lot to give birth to Helsinki [accords], and they care for and cultivate the Helsinki processes. I think that the international activity of associations and organizations must not violate European security and cooperation processes.

[Presenter] The alternative organizations present in Hungary wish to respect these principles. But it is possible, it is conceivable that one or the other will come forward with the idea that Hungary should not be a member of, let us say, the Warsaw Pact or—the linkage between the economy and foreign policy is obvious—of CEMA. What is your reply to this?

[Kotai] Some sort of traffic regulations have to exist. This is also the case in the West. The question, however, is who will determine these traffic regulations. That is, if we decide to drive on the right—I am thinking of road traffic now, not political traffic—then the majority of society has to decide this, but then everybody has to abide by it. In every developed bourgeois democracy that can be considered as an example or model, there are certain rules that society has to abide by.

I emphasize, the question is whether this highway code is developed through a narrow group or through the mutual compromises of the entire society.

[Presenter] Returning to the question of the Warsaw Pact: In your opinion, is it a topical question at all at the moment, at the beginning of 1989, whether it is in the country's national interest to be a member of the Warsaw Pact, or whether the country should take a fundamentally new line in foreign policy?

[Kotai] It has to be examined whether such a turnaround would have harmful effects. It is my conviction that this would cause harm, and that we have to comply with valid international agreements. However, I stress that the changing international environment, naturally, could in time cast certain questions in a different light and then, on the basis of dialogue, we have to decide whether, at a given moment, this would benefit or damage the interests of Hungary.

[Presenter] In the opinion of the MSZMP, should the new constitution stipulate our membership in the bloc?

[Kotai] The latest draft that I have seen—I am not sure that I have seen the latest—does not put it like that. It makes it part of an approach of compliance with valid international treaties. It is my conviction that on 6 February 1989 it is not expedient to put this question this way, because the changing European situation is not really a Hungarian national interest. [end recording]

SZOT Chief Nagy Explains Trade Union Stand

LD0702225689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Interview with SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy by correspondent Anna Berecz; date, place not given]

[Text] A national trade union mass rally was held this afternoon. Important announcements were made, and a stand was adopted. I now quote from it:

The mass rally's participants now expect the political and economic leaders to devote all their efforts to solving the economic problems and easing social tensions. They should create the unity necessary for action. It is our conviction that this is the one and only possible way of resurgence. End of quote. Now over to reporter Anna Berecz:

[Begin recording] [Berecz] Forgive me, but the question is so pressing that I cannot even wait until the mass rally begins before I ask you: Why do we have to learn it from DIE PRESSE that the SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] will revoke its agreement with the government?

[Nagy] I have a feeling that this single word, this single expression, has sparked off an unjustifiably loud response in Hungary. In fact, there has not been any kind of new announcement. We have been saying for weeks, months, that we would initiate new discussions in view of the fact that the old agreements were concluded alongside a different price index.

[Berecz] The formulation is much more difficult if we say that the SZOT will revoke the agreement with the government than if we say that new discussions have to be initiated.

[Nagy] Undoubtedly. I do not dispute that the formulation has significance. After all, words carry very important meanings. Even so, I would rather emphasize the content of the matter. The essence here is not the snappy or less snappy formulation, but the fact that it is our duty to ease the burdens of people, of the most needy, and this is expressed both in the single word and in the more lengthy formulation of one sentence. [end recording]

Explains Rejection of Agreement

LD0702153989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] The Hungarian trade unions do not consider their most recent agreements concluded with the government to be binding on themselves. The SZOT general secretary discussed this at a rally in Budapest. Pal Toth reports.

[Toth] The trade unions demand that the government should formulate an economic policy program that builds on a selective resurgence of the internal market, envisages economic growth, and brings not only a halt to the decline in real wages but also their increase to approximately realistic levels, SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy said at the Hungarian State Railways northern vehicle repair works, at a national demonstration involving 6,000 employee representatives.

In the spirit of workers' solidarity, at 1400 all the country's locomotives, both en route and at train stations, sounded their horns for 30 seconds. The general secretary announced that the trade unions did not consider the agreements concluded with the government to be binding on themselves. At tomorrow morning's session of the National Interest Coordinating Council, the SZOT representatives will propose that minimum wages be increased to at least 4,000 forints [no time period specified], that every employee receive a 3-percent wage increase, and that this should not be less than 300 forints and that it should not be taxed. The poorest strata should gain access to cheap milk and bread, if by no other way than by coupons.

Nagy Addresses Rally

LD0702210789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pal Toth reports on the workers' rally that was addressed by SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy. [passage omitted]

[Toth] Even if the negotiating sides tomorrow accept the proposals, one still cannot expect a very spectacular change, although there is considerable need for the decline in real wages to not reach even 3 percent, at least for this year. A new economic policy is needed in which the situation will evolve where the worker comes under social security, is able to work, and is paid for this work as well, the SZOT general secretary said. He continued as follows:

[Begin Nagy recording] In Hungary, the threat to the consumer price index, of inflation, is to be seen not first and foremost in wages. The threat to prices should much more be seen to lie in the nature of our investment policy, our budget policy, in the fact that there still exists in this country at one and the same time both shortages and waste, that interest rates on loans are impossibly high. I could go on listing the examples that contribute to inflation at least as much as, or much than, a few-percent increase in workers' wages. [applause] [end recording]

[Toth] An effective social policy requires money, income, and economic performance. This is true. Everybody knows this, but it has to be at least as well known that a good social atmosphere gives an immediate impetus to production, that a good social atmosphere also has an effect on the economy, and that its absence sooner or later also causes serious losses in performance.

Let us not argue only about prices and wages, but let us put the emphasis on shaping an economic policy. In other words, we request the elaboration of an economic political program that builds more on the enlivening of the domestic market, that relies more on the possibilities of economic growth, and that—after the tax reform, after the dismantling of price subsidies, after the many, many measures of this nature—brings into tangible proximity the wage reform and the program of social reform, of the comprehensive renewal of the operation of the system of welfare institutions. For a long time we thought that the reform of the system of political institutions would also stimulate the economy. This, in the short term, is an illusion. We need something else, and in a different way, already in our day.

[Begin Nagy recording] Instead of a thought-out political reform, one that serves objectives based on consensus, the processes now, at certain points, seem to be breaking loose. There is more and more improvisation, acting under pressure, and words and deeds that contradict each other. Solving the problems of the economy, it seems, is being squeezed into the background. The political reform demagogy suggests to us the danger that

it is suppressing the voice of those who struggle with daily problems of making a living. The trade unions are filled with extraordinarily serious concern by the fact that they see signs of crisis in the leadership. There is no unity in the interpretation of the reform concept, in the determining of the necessary steps. Contradictions have become sharpened in the issues of the exercise of power, in the method of power sharing, with regard to the content, tempo, and form, and of the path leading to it.

In the judgement of our recent historical past, simplified extremes are confronting one another. In all this, we do not want to decide the truth. We fear the unfolding of democracy from both extremes. I could say, concisely, that we want order, clarified political relations, and an economic strategy based on consensus. [end recording]

[Toth] At the end of the mass rally, the participants voted unanimously to give an open letter to the state and political leaders demanding everything that was said at the northern vehicle repair workshop.

Trade Unions Hold News Conference on Strike Law
LD0602215989 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI)—United action against the strike law was the topic of a press conference a number of independent and democratic trade unions and alternative organizations gave in Budapest on Monday.

The spirit of consensus, emphatically voiced by the government and the HSWP, was missing from both the draft strike law and the process of drafting, spokesmen said.

The Democratic Trade Union of Research Workers' spokesman emphasized that the right to strike was a major trade union right and a fundamental human right, the exercise of which a constitutional state should guarantee. Before the draft strike law, nothing had banned or limited strikes in Hungary. This concept was not new, since International Labour Agreement No. 87, which was also signed by Hungary, declared that, if they were not regulated or allowed by a separate law, then strikes were justified. The limitation of the right to strike hindered political advance based on agreement. The organizations, parties and groups taking this joint stand preferred to prevent strikes through compromises, and sought to realize an economic order based on the agreements of partners of equal rights.

The spokesman emphasized that if Hungary's strike law limited one of the most important union rights, the reaction of the international organizations would be incalculable.

The participants read out telegrams from the World Confederation of Labour and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in which General Secretaries Jan Kulakowski and John Vanderveken supported the joint action of the Hungarian democratic trade unions.

Some contributors said the state wages and manpower office was seeking to evade the debate by sending the draft law to some organizations only, while the board of some trade unions affiliated to the central council of trade unions were still unware of its contents.

Program on Romanian Refugees in Sofia Embassy
LD3001215989

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1800 GMT on 29 January 1989 carries the 60-minute "The Week" program, which in this edition reports on Transylvanian refugees from Romania who took shelter in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia to gain entry to Hungary. The narrator begins by noting that the program "was made some 2 months ago," adding that "we did not show it until now because we believed that keeping silent would be of greater help to those affected than the unpleasantness caused by publicity."

The narrator describes the plight of the 12 Transylvanians who took refuge in the Hungarian Embassy 140 days ago. He says that they have and are confined to some 30 square meters of living quarters, four small rooms, and a garden. Their natural caution, the narrator says, means that only two of the refugees were willing to appear before the cameras.

The refugees describe their daily routine and how they have been helping to renovate the embassy—a job they were given at their own request.

One refugee says:

"We have received aid from the Hungarian Red Cross. They have sent substantial, large parcels several times. The Foreign Ministry has helped; they have sent beds and linen, and the colony here in Sofia has collected money. They have helped in this way, and a considerable amount has been amassed. The embassy personnel have also helped very much in everything, as much as humanly possible."

The narrator recalls that the refugees sought refuge in the embassy with virtually no possessions other than the clothes on their backs. Other forms of aid they receive include toys and textbooks for the children, and the assistance of a gymnast who twice a week makes it easier for the adult refugees to tolerate their restricted possibilities for physical movement.

The narrator goes on: "The sole, virtually unsolvable problem would be a possible illness. The refugees cannot be taken to a hospital. If there were a serious accident, they could not be provided for at the embassy."

The refugees then tell the reporter that they decided a few years ago to flee Romania, but that they finally made up their minds in June. They say that none of their relatives back in Romania knew of their intention to leave. They then discuss their personal living conditions back in Romania, and their motives for leaving the country. One refugee was not entirely satisfied with his working conditions, while a female refugee says that she wanted a safer, less oppressive future for her children. Another refugee says that they could no longer bear the situation in which they were not permitted to maintain their Hungarian identity.

The narrator says: "Thus, they have taken the fateful step, but they have scarcely reached their goal. In practice, there is no statutory legal regulation for determining the conduct of three countries involved in such cases. Moreover, the concept of refugee is unknown in relations between socialist countries. Another solution would be for them to be declared Hungarian citizens. However, the agreement between Hungary and Romania that excludes dual citizenship rules this out. This, by the way, can be abrogated only in next February at the earliest. Thus, the solution depends on Sofia, because the last possibility—submitting an emigration request—is unacceptable to the refugees."

A refugee points out: "The Romanian authorities insist that we, properly speaking, should submit our emigration request in Romania, and there have been various promises that they will fulfill this request with accelerated procedures. Unfortunately, we cannot do that, if only because we are well acquainted with the situation there, and in my opinion if we were to go back to Romania now there would be very grave consequences. They would treat us as if we had committed high treason, and this has its legal consequences. So the worst could be expected."

The narrator continues:

"As you have heard, Hungarian citizenship could be given to these people in 13 months at the earliest. Maybe at that time we will not be obligated by the Romanian-Hungarian agreement that excludes dual citizenship. It certainly would be quicker if the Bulgarian authorities were to allow these 12 Transylvanian Magyars to leave the country. We, at least according to our foreign minister, trust in the judgement of the Bulgarians. For my part, I trust that in this part of the world simple principles, for instance that politics is for the people and not the reverse, should be successfully enforced as soon as possible. I would regret it if, on the question of letting out these Magyars of Romanian citizenship, the good relations between Sofia and Bucharest were spoiled because of the latter taking offense."

The narrator concludes that it must be taken into account that if someone does not want to live somewhere, he cannot be forced to do so, because otherwise the person's human rights would have been violated.

Statistical Office on Romanian Resettlement

LD0302114489 Budapest MTI in English
1030 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 2 [date as received] 1989 (MTI-Econews)—On January 1 this year, the number of inhabitants was 10.591 million, 14,000 less than a year earlier.

Besides the natural decrease of the population, the reduction was due to the fact that a number of inhabitants left the country to seek permanent residence abroad, either legally or illegally.

The Central Statistical Office today made public its report on the development of the Hungarian society and economy in 1988.

According to vital statistics, the natural decrease in the population, which began in 1981, continued, the rate of reduction, however, declined to some extent.

Over the year, 1,350 Hungarian citizens were granted permission to settle abroad, and the authorities learned of 2,000 Hungarian citizens who stayed abroad illegally.

At the same time the number of inhabitants grew, due to foreign citizens permanent residence in Hungary, and 720 Hungarian citizens repatriated.

A total of 2,100 foreigners came to Hungary with a resettlement permit, 92 percent of them Romanian citizens. Of the Romanian citizens who came to Hungary and did not wish to return to Romania, 13,400 were granted permission to settle in Hungary.

There was almost no change in the economic activity of the population: In early 1989 there were about 4.840 million active earners, some 5,000 less than a year earlier. Active earners represented 45.7 percent of the inhabitants.

Politburo Welcomes Inauguration of Roundtable

LD0802013289 Warsaw PAP in English
2336 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 7—PUMP CC Political Bureau welcomed today with satisfaction the inauguration of the roundtable debates.

This important event confirms the correctness of the policy of socialist renewal and national agreement, pursued by the PUMP CC Plenum are of particular importance in the development and implementation of this policy. The supreme aims of the roundtable talks are the future of Poland, and the success of the socio-political reforms, democratization and fundamental economic transformations.

The patriotic concern for the weal of the country demands that each stage of the talks be dominated by the sense of realism and responsibility, and that the readiness to achieve a reasonable compromise and ability to take a constructive stand go together with the loyalty towards partners and the respect for commitments made.

Such approach would mean that the roundtable debates may bring concrete, broadly supported solutions to issues of key importance for Poland and her citizens.

The Political Bureau positively assessed the implementation of guidelines of the Polish foreign policy and defined key tasks facing it in the current year.

The meeting stressed that the consolidation of Poland's prestige and position resulted from the intensifying of Poland's activity in the international life, from numerous Polish initiatives that inspired and were conducive to dialogue, especially that of European states. A significant role in this process has been played by the plan to reduce armaments and to increase confidence in central Europe. The concept is becoming a significant factor of the discussion serving the consolidation of detente, security and cooperation in Europe.

This has been accompanied by a growing interest in and understanding on the part of our partners for the programme of introducing reforms into the economy and democratization of socio-political life in Poland.

The meeting said that the main goals of the Polish foreign policy next year were as follows:

—securing for Poland of advantageous conditions of political and economic cooperation with abroad,

—development and consolidation of comprehensive cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and socialist states,

—consolidation of the role of the Warsaw Treaty in actions serving peace and international security,

—striving for CMEA restructuring,

—increasing dynamism of relations with West European states and the U.S., particularly on the road of overcoming discriminatory trade, technological, credit and financial barriers used against Poland,

—establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican and breakthrough in the normalization and development of relations with the FRG,

—animation of cooperation, especially economic one, with developing countries,

—permanent animation of widely-perceived cooperation with Polonia and protection of legal and economic interests of Polish citizens staying abroad.

The Political Bureau stressed the significance of the final document of the CSCE Vienna meeting and expressed will to fully implement its provisions. Of importance will be negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe, to start in March 1989.

It becomes more and more important to use the extra-governmental forms of cooperation for the support of the process of reforms and renewal in this country and for the strengthening of the position of Poland in the world. It is expected that this year, in which falls the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War, will see an increased number of various meetings, discussions and other events whose subject matter will be related to the ideas of the common European home, issues of security and disarmament in Europe and also to ecological problems.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the course and the results of the discussion at the 10th All-Poland Conference of Crews Self-Managements.

It stated that the acceleration of economic reforms, independence and market-orientation of enterprises, as well as political and trade union pluralism and democratization create objective premises for the strengthening of self- management and of lasting perspectives for it.

The Political Bureau is of the opinion that the creation of self-management-economic nationwide and voivodship chambers will serve the strengthening of the role of crews self-managements.

The Political Bureau was briefed on the friendly working visit of PUWP CC First Secretary President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski paid to Prague on Feb. 1, 1989 and on his talks with General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Milos Jakes and President of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak.

Fully approving of the results of the talks, the Political Bureau regarded them as an important step towards the strengthening of mutual understanding, confidence and friendship and towards the expanding of the mutually profitable cooperation.

Roundtable Talks Resume; First Session Viewed

'Teams' Start 2d Day

LD0802112889 Warsaw PAP in English 1041 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 8—Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski are co-chairing the debate of the economy and social policy team which started at the palace of the Council of Ministers here at 10:00 a.m. today as part of the roundtable talks.

Today's negotiations involve the 40-strong team and a group of experts and advisers.

Urban, Onyszkiewicz, ZSL Comment

LD0702160589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1306 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Marek Kassa report on 7 February news conferences by Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS building in Warsaw; Janusz Onyszkiewicz at Warsaw University's Auditorium Maximum; and ZSL representatives at the roundtable talks professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Bogdan Krolewski, and Tomasz Adamczuk at the ZSL Supreme Committee]

[Text] [Kassa] We are now broadcasting a report on the news conferences on the subject of the roundtable which were held today in Warsaw. Here is a comment made by Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS building:

[Begin Urban recording] The roundtable is being accompanied by great public interest, by international interest, with the press, television, and radio devoting a lot of space to the meeting. Against this background, I would like to express a certain anxiety and state that one should not exaggerate with the hopes linked to the roundtable. It is a significant event, which is very important for the future of Poland—if the deliberations end successfully—but one should not see the roundtable as some kind of magic means of resolving the problems which Poland is facing. One should not think that the expansion of the political platform of the talks, getting to know other points of view, and the agreement which hopefully will be entered into will all change the situation in Poland. Simply, I am afraid of disappointments, even if the roundtable deliberations end successfully, I would like to appeal for moderate, or in other words, realistic hopes regarding the roundtable and its results.

Furthermore, I would like to give an assurance that in connection with the start of roundtable deliberations, which will continue for quite some time, life will not stop and the state bodies will work normally. We will still be carrying out reforms and sending draft laws to the Sejm, parliament will still be carrying out reforms and sending draft laws to the Sejm, parliament will still be working. In other words, life goes on, and as far as the authorities are concerned, we are not waiting for the results of the roundtable. This would be a failure to perform our constitutional and political duty.

It would also be unjustified politically, because all of our initiatives are moving in a reformatory direction and, generally speaking, are not intended to spite the intention of any of the sides at the roundtable.

Finally, two more observations about the press reverberations over the roundtable. The possible results of the roundtable deliberations are mistakenly commented on as an undertaking of joint work, joint elections, joint ideas, joint action. That's not how we imagine pluralism. The elevation to legal public life of wider opposition circles does not signify some kind of alliance. It means that we are going to continue to stand opposite each other, that it is going to be an opposition. It does not mean some kind of merging. According to our intentions, it ought to signify only that public life, with the participation of a more differentiated opposition, is going to be carried out according to agreed-on rules of the game and agreed-on boundaries.

And the last observation concerns the foreign and some Polish mass media commentaries already connected with the course of yesterday, that what I acknowledged yesterday as the most significant was not noticed—namely Lech Walesa's initial declaration of agreement to General Kiszczak's programmatic and organizational proposals.

This, in my view, was the most significant result of yesterday's debate and of the content of the comments which were addressed to the Polish public and its various factions. [end recording]

[Kassa] Janusz Onyszkiewicz [Solidarity press spokesman] held a news conference at Warsaw University's auditorium maximum. He said, among other things, this at the beginning:

[Begin Onyszkiewicz recording] I have already had the opportunity to express the preliminary assessment of this first meeting in my various statements. Therefore, I will not speak on this subject yet again here, unless someone asks me a question about details. I think that it is worth mentioning one thing: that at this conference [as heard] various attitudes and proposals were presented.

Lech Walesa considered the proposals presented by General Kiszczak as proposals which we are noting, as something to which we are going to react with our own proposals, but also as proposals which may be the subject for a debate. What will our reaction be? This will be discussed in individual working teams, and because of this I am asking you not to anticipate things too much and not to ask questions of this type. For instance, please don't ask what we will propose tomorrow or the day after or in 1 week, or how this roundtable conference will end. [end recording]

[Kassa] Next the journalists started asking questions. Here are some of them. How was Alfred Miodowicz's proposal to create a trade union council of the agreement of the working people received?

[Begin Onyszkiewicz recording] You will hear the reply to this question most probably in 2 days, when the working group for the trade union pluralism gathers, as this is probably the best forum to tackle and discuss this issue, and then our stance will be formulated. [end recording]

[Kassa] Many questions concerned the future Sejm elections. Among other things, a request was made to comment on General Kiszczak's phrase of nonconfrontational elections:

[Begin recording] [Onyszkiewicz] By the term nonconfrontational elections, we understand elections which will not be an occasion for violent aggravation of conflicts for an open war, but will be an occasion to work out various, perhaps alternative, or in fact really alternative programs, an occasion to present them and on that basis to fight for an electoral mandate. So, nonconfrontational cannot mean noncompetitive. It can only mean simply a conviction that elections should not become an occasion for some confrontations, great political or social confrontations in the country.

From what I have said, perhaps it transpires clearly that this is not connected with how the electoral system will work and how these elections will be conducted. This does not mean that we do not care how these elections will be conducted and what the electoral law will be like. On the contrary, our reservations in this respect are clear. For a long time, in fact since 1981, we have been in favour of free elections, allowing, however, for the possibility of some transitional period, although not too long a period, when these elections, to a certain extent, will not be in full. As for what this will look like in detail, I would like to refer you, ladies and gentlemen, to another press conference, where we will discuss political reforms.

[Unidentified correspondent] Can one expect legal recognition of Solidarity before the end of the roundtable talks?

[Onyszkiewicz] We would very much like for preliminary steps, making possible the relegalization of Solidarity to be made before the end of the roundtable debates. We see this primarily in the shape of repealing the Council of State decree which blocks trade union pluralism.

[Correspondent] Is there a possibility of an incomplete agreement at the roundtable?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that the roundtable must either end in success or defeat. Something which would be received as a rotten compromise would simply mean a defeat. The point here, above all, is to have a feeling in Poland that something has happened, that a decisive step has been made in a certain direction, that we have started on a certain road, and that the road along which we are going is a one way street. If this does not happen, then we can speak about the failure of the roundtable. One must say that this cannot be excluded. I am a cautious optimist. If I was convinced, and if all my colleagues were convinced that the roundtable must end in success, then there would be no need for reservations and describing ourselves as cautious optimists. One would just say that we are enthusiastic about the future. What would happen then I prefer not to think about. But one must not, unfortunately, exclude a possible roundtable fiasco. [end recording]

[Kassa] A news conference was also held at the ZSL Supreme Committee. It was attended by ZSL representatives at the roundtable Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Bogdan Krolewski, and Tomasz Adamczuk. One of the first questions was addressed to Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and concerned the contradiction which occured in his speech yesterday concerning criticism of the situation in agriculture and ZSL's joint responsibility for the state of agriculture. Professor Kozakiewicz said among others things:

[Begin Kozakiewicz recording] It's no secret, and we did not say it yesterday, but we have written about it many times; ZSL is not in a position of equality regarding Poland's political and economic system. While sharing the moral responsibility for the agricultural policy, at the same time (?it cannot) have the same responsibility for influencing decisions. Right now we are in the same situation: We have a whole range of program views, some of which were even successfully forced into the government program—priority for agriculture—but since the main decisions are in various hands [words indistinct] this priority begins to fall apart. We are demanding the change of the coalition setup, so that there is not a situation where we are jointly responsible, not because of false concepts, but because we have insufficient weight and insufficient significance to force such a correct program through. [end recording]

[Kassa] Next Michal Kozakiewicz answered a question about the differences in opinions on many matters within the ZSL:

[Begin Kozakiewicz recording] Naturally, we also have our conservatives, we also have our radicals, raring to go, and we have our center. My speech yesterday, both on agricultural matters and on political matters, was from a centric position. And I would like to say, and you don't know this, that for example the speech I gave yesterday was changed three times as a result of critical remarks by the same Presidium from which I was forced to resign. Due to certain circumstances and having to speak on behalf of the ZSL, I didn't insist on it, although I would have insisted if I had been writing my own private article. [end recording]

[Kassa] Prof Kozakiewicz and Bogdan Krolewski also spoke about the party's attitude on political pluralism and the Sejm elections:

[Begin recording] [Krolewski] These last months of the party's activity, particularly after the 10th Congress and the stance of the third plenum, were like a kind of breakthrough and a certain hardening of a stance on matters dealing with the system of government. I think it's a pity—that's how I assessed it in the leadership of the ZSL Supreme Committee—that that stance was not popularized in society, but only in the ZSL's media organs.

[Kozakiewicz] I think that the whole direction of renewal which is currently being carried out is precisely a problem of reinterpreting the PZPR's role in a pluralistic society. As such, an arrangement which has existed up to now was, at the most, an embroyo of political pluralism. that's why we attached such importance to that. Also, no one today talks about the fact that we were the first to propose political pluralism; so that the Party wouldn't have an absolute majority in the Sejm, but the absolute majority would be comprised of the coalition of three parties on the basis of negotiations. Because, as I was saying yesterday, at the moment there is not (?a political chance) for full so-called free elections, free political play; it's too great a risk, it would be breaking our necks. In our opinion, that forces the mechanism of a real coalition; however, as the party will be aware, during any vote in the Sejm on an issue which has not previously been agreed on, the ZSL may vote against it. [end recording]

[Kassa] That was a report from today's press conferences on the roundtable.

Further on Urban's Views

LD0702203689 Warsaw PAP in English 1924 GMT 7 Feb 89

[By Janusz Zaleski and Jaroslaw Szychlinski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 7—The roundtable meeting, new strikes and pay demands, KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland) assembly disbanded by militia, Dementi on an alleged existence of Polish espionage network in Austria, and a polemic with the suggestion of an alleged fiasco of the to-date policy of reforms are the main topics of the weekly press conference held in Warsaw today for home and foreign newsmen by Poland's Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban.

New Strikes and Pay Demands

At first the spokesman disclosed that a strike had broken out yesterday at the brown coal mine in Belchatow, central Poland. Repair yards and transportation ward went on strike there, the total of strikers amounting to 2,500 people. Coal supplies for the Belchatow power station were cut off. The strike was caused by pay claims. Also yesterday, pay demands were raised in the "Sira" plant in Sieradz, central Poland, and work has not started in the cokery of the Lenin steel mill in Nowa Huta which have led to halting the operation of Iron Blast Furnace No. 5. Some minor actions by health care personnel were also held, among them the one announced by ambulance service in Poznan. As for the strike in Belchatow, the workers demand a change in the payroll and 30,000 zlotys to be paid to each worker until the change of the payroll is introduced, Urban said.

Then the spokesman presented the figures concerning conflicts over pay issues in January 1989. There were 173 such conflicts in January or thrice as many as last December. A total of about 6,000 employees participated in the conflicts which took place chiefly in small enterprises paying relatively low wages.

Commenting on the incidents, Urban stated that the government is anxious about the pay conflicts which took place in January and are occurring now because they are evidence of an existing wave of pay pressure. Local reasons vary and are often due to mismanagement of enterprises or illtreatment of pay problems.

The spokesman pointed out that official prices were practicaly frozen during the last quarter of the year. Last year wound up with an increase of wages by 15 points higher than price hikes. If the pay pressure builds up, it may threaten with an increase of inflation and aggravation of consumer good supplies, and thus will make it more difficult to reach a market balance, he said.

I want to state, the spokesman said, that the government is concerned about the moods which encourage attempts to get pay rises through pressure. We consistently do not apply any exemptions or subsidies and the government firmly sticks to the principle that the disputes are between managements and workers and that managers should pay as much as they can under the existing rules. We shall not abandon this policy for it would mean a failure of the reform, Urban said.

Roundtable

Referring to the inauguration of the roundtable talks, the spokesman stated that the debates meet with great interest of Polish society and the international public. Mass media give much space to this event.

In this context, said Urban, I would like to express some anxiety and to say that we should not carry our hopes too far. It is a significant event, very important for the country's future. (But) one should not imagine that the roundtable will solve the problems facing Poland, that it is some magic panaceum.

One should not think, continued Urban, that the widening of the political platform of talks and acquaintance with other points of view as well as agreements, which, let us hope, will be reached are going to change the situation in the country.

I am afraid of disappointments, even if the roundtable debates end in success, said the spokesman, and I would like to appeal for moderation, that is, for realistic hopes pinned on the roundtable and its outcome.

I want to assure, continued the spokesman, that in connection with the inauguration of the roundtable debates, which are to last for a longer time, life is not going to stop—the state bodies are working as usual, the government is carrying out reforms and sending draft laws to the Sejm, the parliament is working. In a word, life is going on and the authority is not waiting idly for the results of the roundtable. It would mean negligence of our constitutional and political duties.

All initiatives of the government, stated Urban, go in the reformatory direction and they are not against the intentions of any of the sides at the roundtable.

Referring to the commentaries of Western and Polish newspapers on the round-table debates, the spokesman stated that the possible results of the debates are misinterpreted as meaning subsequent joint work, joint elections, joint concepts, and joint actions. This is not the way we imagine pluralism, he said. Raising wide opposition circles to legal public life does not mean any alliance, it means that we shall still be counterfacing each other, that it will be an opposition, and it does not mean any merging.

According to our intentions it should only mean that public life with the participation of a more differentiated opposition will go on under fixed rules of the game and within fixed limits, Urban added.

Press commentaries on yesterday's debates failed to point out what I considered to be most significant, namely the initial declaration by Lech Walesa and his consent to General Kiszczak's programmatic and organizational proposals, Urban said. This was in my opinion the most essencial effect of yesterday's meeting.

Police Prevents KPN Gathering

In reply to the question why security forces over the weekend prevented a gathering of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), which was allegedly expected to pass a statement enabling the KPN to join the process of dialogue and the process of operation of moderate opposition, the spokesman stated that the congress had been dissolved as an illegal assembly.

It was held on the premises of a higher school whose authorities did not consent to this. Guesses that the KPN wanted to change its nature at the congress are unjustified in so far that documents found there are of a totally different character, Urban stated.

Taking a stand on the question concerning the alleged existence of a Polish Security service ring in Austria supposed to control emigration groups and circles close to "Solidarity," Urban stated: I know these "revelations" from the Austrian press, I deny their veracity and I have to suppose that these are some Austrian games.

I regret that they may make an impression on part of Austrian readers that some shady and mysterious business goes on under the surface of good Polish-Austrian relations. It would be a wrong impression.

Alleged Fiasco of To-Date Reform Policy Polemicized

Answering the question whether the convening of the roundtable means that the authorities admit that the to-date policy pursued in the seven-year period after the introduction of martial law has failed, Urban stated: These are clearly untrue and biased opinions.

Over those years the economic situation has visibly improved. Though it is bad and society is not satisfied with it, our starting point in 1981 and 1982 was disastrous. We made up for this collapse which covered one forth of production. Production growth by several percent annually started to be recorded as of the latter part of 1982, we boosted exports and many other branches of the economy.

All this does not satisfy us but these are not wasted years. To tell the truth, our economic reforms were inconsistent, partial and met with resistance but we implemented them in the conditions of sanctions and breaking of natural channels of cooperation with the bigger part of the most advanced world. Over that time we introduced political reforms without which roundtable debates would have been impossible. These debates ensue from the country's natural political development towards ever greater expansion of democracy and are a natural stage to which both sides have had to mature.

Further on Onyszkiewicz Remarks

LD0702200889 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 7 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak and Janusz Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 7—"Lech Walesa recognized the proposals contained in Czeslaw Kiszczak's speech at the roundtable, and acknowledged them," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for the groups attached to the citizens' committee told newsmen here today. "These questions are to be discussed in the working teams."

"At the roundtable we want to get to starting such mechanisms which will constitute a driving force of the processes just started," Onyszkiewicz said and added that "Solidarity" and the so-called social side aim at a kind of agreement on a transitory period which is to lead to the nation's sovereignty and not to the domination of one group or one party.

Asked whether some groups are not going to raise charges of selling out "Solidarity", Onyszkiewicz said that "a compromise must be reached at the table. This means that also 'Solidarity' has to make some concessions on its aspirations and the pace of their realization."

As to economic questions the roundtable, if it is successful, will not make shops' shelves full," he said.

Explaining the term "non-confrontational elections", Onyszkiewicz said that "these are such elections which do not give pretext for a violent aggravation of conflicts, for an open war, but, instead, they create chance for working out various, alternative programmes, for their presentation and competition for mandates. 'Solidarity' as an organization will not take part in elections," he added, "we do not plan our own candidates' list, but we are going to support some 'Solidarity' members running for mandates."

"I do not know if legal 'Solidarity' is going to have 10 million members, I think that less than that," said Onyszkiewicz and added that probably a process of joining "Solidarity" by some members of the OPZZ union will take place and that some people will not join any union. "'Solidarity' is going to come out for maintaining the traditional union's structure, as the authority needs a partner for talks, and the national leadership of 'Solidarity' should be such a partner," he declared.

Asked about the union's contacts with various groups in the socialist countries, Onyszkiewicz recalled that "Solidarity" was always open to such contacts. "The more so today," he continued. "Lech Walesa has given an interview for the Soviet press of late, and during a visit of representatives of the Lithuanian 'Sajudis' to Poland, he was invited to attend the observances of Lithuania's independence (on February 16), in which, for known reasons, he will not be able to participate." Onyszkiewicz also mentioned contacts with some groups in Hungary.

Questioned about fears of terrorist acts against the incipient agreement, Onyszkiewicz answered: "I hope that the authority, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and General Kiszczak himself will be able to stop such attempts. The chance for forming such groups on the other side is slight, if we take into account the moral authority of the church and specific 'social pressure', for instance."

"The candidature of Wladyslaw Silanowicki was suggested by the government side," said Onyszkiewicz to the question on the lawyer's status in the roundtable debates. Recalling Silanowicki's contribution to "Solidarity", Onyszkiewicz said that presently he is not considered the union's advisor.

ZSL's Kozakiewicz Views Session

LD0702173489 Warsaw PAP in English
1601 GMT 7 Feb 89

[By Wielsawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 7—"During yesterday's roundtable debate one of the fundamental conditions for reaching national agreement was met—all the parties demonstrated their will of coming to agreement," Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, member of the Presidium of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) CC and one of the three representatives of his party at the inaugural roundtable session told journalists today.

"If this attitude is represented consistently by all the parties to the very end, the roundtable may end up with full success," Kozakiewicz said.

Asked about the position of ZSL in the current coalition with the PUWP and the Democratic Party Kozakiewicz stated that his party does not have an equal-rights position in the political and economic system of the state. Therefore, it can bear moral responsibility only to the extent to which it exerts its influence on making decisions and their implementation. This refers mainly to the situation in agriculture, where further steps are needed. "We have presented them to the roundtable participants—it was our proposal for the team scheduled to deal with agricultural matters."

Speaking about the necessary political reforms Mikolaj Kozakiewicz underlined the fact that the now existing alignment of forces has not been evidence of political pluralism. He recalled a thesis presented in his speech delivered during the roundtable meeting to the effect that one party cannot have the absolute majority in the Sejm (Polish parliament). This majority should consist of a coalition of a number of parties. Such a system will force the functioning of mechanisms of real coalition and press for taking into account advocates of smaller social groups.

Asked about ZSL's attitude towards peasant organisations being established in villages Kozakiewicz stated that the ZSL is interested in the legislation and enabling the operation of all kinds of peasant organisations which want to do something for the Polish countryside.

Democratic Party Assesses Talks

LD0702224989 Warsaw PAP in English
2214 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 7—The Democratic Party CC Presidium met here today to discuss cultural issues, the state cultural policy, the course of the "roundtable" debates, the directions of the amendments to the new electoral law to the Sejm (Polish parliament) and to the Law on Associations, as well as the course of voivodship congresses of the Democratic Party (DP) before its 14th national congress.

While assessing the course of the first "roundtable" meeting, the Presidium stressed the great significance of the event noted with attention both at home and abroad. For the first time in many years Polish affairs were frontpaged in world mass media not in the atmosphere of unpleasant sensation but as an example of positive trends that serve well the idea of agreement and dialogue, also in international relations.

Evaluations of particular speeches can and in fact differ, especially in the face of pluralism in its developed shape, both political and trade union one, which is becoming a fact in Poland. The DP CC Presidium positively assessed both the course of the first "roundtable" meeting and reactions to it. The DP CC Presidium also announced an active participation of its representatives in all work teams and subteams, including a team for mining.

Biographical Data on Roundtable Participants

LD0702093589 Warsaw PAP in English
0059 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 6—Following are basic biographical data of the participants in the "roundtable" debates:

1. Tomasz Adamczuk, 35 individual farmer, member of the United Peasants' party (ZSL) and of the Union of Rural Youth (ZMW), Sejm (Polish Parliament) deputy.
2. Norbert Aleksiewicz, 40, chairman of the main board of the National Union of Farmers and AGricultural Circles and Organizations, individual farmer, PUWP member, Sejm deputy.
3. Stefan Bratkowski, 54, journalist, author of many books, in the years 1980-1982 president of the Association of Polish Journalists SDP.
4. Zbigniew Bujak, 34, in the years 1989 - [figures as received] 1981, chairman of the board of the Mazowsze (Mazovia) region of the NSZZ Solidarity.
5. Stanislaw Ciosek, 49, Political Bureau member, PUWP CC secretary, general secretary of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) National Council.
6. Bronislaw Dembowski, 61, priest, rector of Saint Martin Church in Warsaw.
7. Wladyslaw Findeisen, 62, chairman of the social council at Poland's primate, professor of the Warsaw Technical University.
8. Wladysalw Frasyniuk, 34, in 1981 chairman of the board of the lower Silesia region of the NSZZ Solidarity.
9. Bronislaw Geremek, 56, professor, Lech Walesa's adviser.
10. Aleksander Gieysztor, 72, professor, director of the royal castle in Warsaw, member of the Consultative Council at the President of the Council of State.
11. Mieczyslaw Gil, 44, in 1981 chairman of Workers' Commission of Metallurgical Workers Solidarity.
12. Wieslaw Gwizdz, 54, chairman of the voivodship branch of the Polish Catholic-Social Union in Katowice, Sejm deputy.
13. Aleksander Hall, 35, journalist, member of the social council attached to Poland's primate, vice-president of the club of political thought "Dziekania".
14. Marek Holdakowski, 31, first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Gdansk, alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau.
15. Jan Janowski, 60, professor, rector of the mining and metallurgical academy, member of the presidium of the Democratic party (DP) CC, Sejm deputy.
16. Janusz Jarlinski, 37, electrician, chairman of Trade Union Organization of Employees of the Krupinski mine in Suszec.
17. Czeslaw KiszCzak, 63, general, minister of Internal Affairs, chairman of the government Committee for Observance of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Sejm deputy.
18. Zenon Komender, 66, chairman of the Pax main board, vice-president of the Council of State.
19. Jan Karol Kostrzewski, 73, professor, PAN (the Polish Academy of Sciences) president, member of the Consultative Council at the President [phrase as received] of the Council of State.
20. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, 65, professor, ZSL CC Presidium member, PRON National Council member, Sejm deputy.
21. Bogdan Krolewski, 44 member of the Presidium, secretary of the ZSL CC, Sejm deputy.
22. Jacek Kuron, 54, in 1981 Solidarity expert, Lech Walesa's adviser.
23. Aleksander Kwasniewski, 35, minister-member of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the government Socio-Political Committee.
24. Wladyslaw Liwak, 46, in the years 1980-1981 member of the board of the Sandomierz region of the NSZZ Solidarity, in August 1988 secretary of the strike committee at the Stalowa Wola steelworks.
25. Maciej Manicki, 34, member of the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Council and Executive Committee, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Shipyard Workers.
26. Harald Matuszewski, 46, employee of the voivodship transport enterprise in Bydgoszcz, chairman of the trade union organization operating in the enterprise.
27. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 61, journalist, vice-president of the Warsaw club of Catholic Intelligentsia (KIK), in 1981 editor-in-chief of Solidarity weekly.
28. Jacek Merkel, 34, in the years 1980-1981 Solidarity activist, member of the Solidarity founding committee at the Gdansk shipyard.
29. Adam Michnik, 42, in the years 1980-1981 NSZZ Solidarity expert of the Mazowsze region.
30. Leszek Miller, 43, PUWP CC secretary.
31. Alfred Miodowicz, 59, OPZZ chairman, PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Sejm deputy.
32. Kazimierz Morawski, 69, journalist, chairman of the Christian-Social Union, member of the Council of State, Sejm deputy.
33. Janusz Narzynski, 60, bishop of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Poland, vice-chairman of the Polish ecumenical council.
34. Alojzy Orszulik, 61, Catholic priest, head of the episcopate press office, member of the mixed commission of representatives of the Holy See and Poland's episcopate for church public affairs.
35. Jerzy Ozdowski, 63, Sejm deputy speaker, vice-chairman of the PRON National Council.
36. Alojzy Pietrzyk, 37, in the years 1980-1981 Solidarity activist in the Manifest Lipcowy mine, in August 1988 vice-chairman of the interfactory strike committee in Jastrzebie.

37. Anna Przeclawska, 59, professor, member of the Consultative Council at the President [phrase as received] of the Council of State, member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of PRON National Council.
38. Edward Radziewicz, 40, employed at the Szczecin harbour, in August 1988 chairman of the interfactory strike committee in Szczecin.
39. Tadeusz Raczkiewicz, 35, zoo technician at the Manieczki state farm, chairman of the trade union in this state farm, member of the National Council of Federations of Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers.
40. Jan Rychlewski, 54, professor, chairman of the PAN outer space research committee.
41. Henryk Samsonowicz, 58, professor, historian.
42. Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, 75, lawyer, in the years 1980-1981 adviser to the NSZZ Solidarity, member of the Consultative Council at the President [phrase as received] of the Council of State.
43. Zbigniew Sobotka, 37, employed at the Warszawa steelworks, alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau.
44. Romuald Sosnowski, 58, OPZZ vice-chairman, member of the Presidium of the Socio-Economic Council at the Sejm.
45. Andrzej Stelmachowski, 63, professor, in 1980 adviser to the strike committee at the Gdansk shipyard, next adviser to the NSZZ Solidarity, since 1975 member of the council for church construction at Poland's primate, KIK president in Warsaw.
46. Stanislaw Stomma, 80, lawyer, journalist, former chairman of the social council at Poland's primate.
47. Klemens Szaniawski, 63, professor, in the years 1980-1981 chairman of coordinating committee of artists' and scientists' associations.
48. Jan Jozef Szczepanski, 69, writer, Pen-club member, chairman of the former Union of Polish Writers (ZLP).
49. Eduard Szwajkiewicz, 35, wireman at Gdansk shipyard, Solidarity activist.
50. Jozef Slisz, 54, individual farmer, in the years 1980-1981 activist of NSZZ Solidarity of framers, now member of the citizens' committee attached to Lech Walesa.
51. Witold Trzeciakowski, 62, professor, member of the social council at Poland's primate.
52. Jerzy Turowicz, 76, editor-in-chief of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY weekly, member of the social council at Poland's primate.
53. Lech Walesa, 45, electrician at the Gdansk shipyard, in the years 1980-1981 Solidarity leader, Nobel peace prize laureate.
54. Andrzej Wielowieyski, 61, lawyer, economist, in the years 1980-1981 Solidarity expert, KIK activist.
55. Stanislaw Wisniewski, 54, drawer (lithography), chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions of Employees of Printing Industry, chairman of the OPZZ Labour Veterans' Council.
56. Jan Zaciura, 54, vice-chairman of the Union of Polish Teachers.
57. Edward Zglobicki, 55, member of the presidium and secretary of the Democratic Party CC.

Trade Unions Discuss Role in Roundtable

AU0702102889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Meetings of Trade Unions"]

[Text] Wroclaw, Katowice, Szczecin—What should the trade unions do and how should they act in the new situation created by the 10th plenum stance on political and trade union pluralism? What should the trade union participation in the "roundtable" be?

These were questions asked by trade unionists from four Lower Silesian voivodships at a meeting of 200 factory trade union chairmen in Wroclaw on 31 January.

OPZZ Vice Chairman Romuald Sosnowski said that the OPZZ Council stance is clear and comprehensible. We will never betray the identity of the movement of reborn trade unions. The activists in them should not complain or whimper. Most of all, they should not just sit in their offices. They should be out among the working people wherever the class trade union movement must make sure that workers are suitably rewarded for their hard work. Pluralism in trade union activity should mean at the same time a resolute defense of working people's interests, in concert with the members of other trade unions.

Most of the Lower Silesian trade unionists at the meeting gave unanimous support to the call: "Let us not erect a wailing wall. Instead, let us act energetically for the sake of the working people's interests." Alfons Soczynski, chairman of the Wroclaw Voivodship Trade Union Accord, said: "I believe we can cooperate with 'Solidarity' while preserving our organizational differences under conditions of national accord, provided that 'Solidarity' remains a trade union that respects the law. Trade unionists should talk to each other. I agree with Alfred Miodowicz that agreements between elites are dangerous because these are carried out behind the backs of the working people." Seeking explanations for the stagnation in trade union activity, several people said that this stagnation exists in factories where the trade unions are neglected, isolated, and devoid of support by the parent trade union federations or the OPZZ. Referring to the concept of trade union pluralism contained in the Trade Union Act and the ILO conventions which Poland has ratified, Krzysztof Zawadzki, chairman of the trade union of the Wroclaw Industrial Construction Enterprise No. 2, said: "We will come to terms with Lech Walesa. After all, he is a trade unionist with a worker's background. Let us stop being afraid of 'Solidarity.' Instead, let us join forces in concrete, effective action."

The situation in the trade union movement and ways of consolidating this movement and improving trade union work were also the subject of a meeting of trade unionists from five voivodships at the headquarters of the Katowice Voivodship Trade Union Accord in Katowice on Tuesday [31 January]. It was attended by trade union chairmen

from Bielsko-Biala, Czestochowa, Katowice, Kielce, and Krakow Voivodships; plus members of the Council of the Katowice Voivodship Trade Union Accord.

There was a similar meeting in Szczecin chaired by OPZZ Deputy Chairman Stanislaw Bar and attended by 200 trade unionists representing the largest trade unions in Koszalin, Gorzow, and Szczecin Voivodships. This meeting, which lasted over 3 hours, discussed the situation inside the Polish trade union movement and trade union reaction to the 10th PZPR plenum.

4,000 Miners Strike on Roundtable Opening Day

Wage Increase Demanded

LD0702170589 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] We have just received worrying news from Belchatow. Since yesterday, a strike has been in progress at the repair workshop of the Belchatow mine. We spoke on the telephone to Stanislaw Drozdowski, the director in chief of the Belchatow mine.

[Drozdowski] Strikers include people who do not work and people who are on the first shift and have stayed instead of going home. [passage indistinct] The main demand put forward is for the same recompense for everyone—Z30,000 per employee—until a new agreement is reached on wages.

[Announcer] We have also learned that about 4,000 employees of the mine are taking part in the strike. Negotiations are in progress between the strikers and the management.

Belchatow Miners Continue Strike

LD0702195189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Tension has been growing for 12 days or so, and talks have failed to bring a solution. Yesterday morning an occupation strike began at the repair workshop of the Belchatow lignite coal mine. [passage omitted] Today, extraction work in the mine was halted for about an hour; but at present coal is being supplied to the electricity power station in the required quantities. Today's talks between the strikers and the management failed to achieve results, and the strike is continuing.

[Announcer] We have just received news from Belchatow that the strike will continue until the miners' pay demands are met. The strikers want to speak to the director of the Power Industry and Lignite Coal Corporation. They threaten that the whole mine will stop work at midnight.

Strike Reportedly Spreading

LD0802085489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] We have already reported on a strike at the Belchatow mine. Our local correspondent reports that the strike has spread. The so-called technological units in the strip mine have stopped work and coal is not being extracted. However, the power plant is working.

The strike committee is conducting negotiations with the management and a representative of the Power Industry and Lignite Corporation. It transpires from the information which has reached us so far that the strike is over pay.

Urban Comments on Strike

LD0802102789 Warsaw PAP in English 0907 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 8—The government spokesman Jerzy Urban made a following statement for PAP today:

Nearly four thousand members of the crew of the lignite strip mine in Belchatow are on strike today. At midnight the strikers stopped coal supplies to Poland's biggest power plant. Electricity supply cuts will threaten soon.

The strikers demand a 30-thousand-zloty monthly pay rise for all. This comes as a response to the newly-negotiated remuneration system in mining, providing for pay rises differentiated according to work effects.

The strike began on the day of the opening of the roundtable talks and the strikers at first also demanded legalization of Solidarity.

I hereby state that the government is not going to interfere in pay disputes in enterprises. I want to turn the attention of the public opinion to the fact that the strike is aimed against the reform's principles.

As for the question addressed to me on Tuesday of whether the government will turn to roundtable partners to soothe the conflict my reply is that it will not.

Postmortem Report Issued on Priest's Death

LD0702195289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] The investigation into the death of Father Stanislaw Suchowolec, from Bialystok, is continuing. Jerzy Janis, head of the Forensic Medicine Department of Bialystok Medical Academy said that the cause of death was acute carbon monoxide poisoning due to inhaling smoke from a fire. Toxicological tests showed, among other things, the presence of 58 percent carbon monoxide in the blood of the deceased. Histopathological tests on the internal organs are continuing.

Walesa Meets Construction Technology Workers

LD0702195389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Lech Walesa's meeting with the workforce of the Institute of Construction Technology lasted 90 minutes. He went there at the invitation of the management of the institute. Asked whether he believes in the good intentions of the authorities sitting at the roundtable, Lech Walesa said:

[Walesa] "There is only one Poland. One must come to an agreement in Poland. (?As far as I am concerned), there is an answer whether an accord can be reached through evolution, wisdom, and talks, or by other methods, by strikes or struggle, whether we can reach accord only then. As a Nobel Peace Prize winner, I am doing everything I can in order to use all the possibilities to build accord and a better Poland."

[Announcer] Talking about trade union problems, he said:

[Walesa] "We must embark on pluralism, freedom. We cannot fall into anarchy. We cannot fall into destruction. It is terribly difficult, but it is the only thing to do. The greater the civilization and technological development, the greater freedom must be, but freedom is not anarchy. All this must be arranged within the limits of logic, organizational and other logic."

[Announcer] To a question about what he thought of Alfred Miodowicz and his unions, Lech Walesa answered:

[Walesa] "I will say one thing. It would be wrong if a new union which would be set up, or will be set up, because it must be set up, pushed out another union. Pluralism is needed in Poland. The monopoly has not done anyone any good. Solidarity cannot have a monopoly either on wisdom or organization. It must leave (?room) for others. In a pluralistic set-up, a pluralistic society, there will be room for Miodowicz, and nobody will take it from him. I hope we will work this out and I hope that we, and you will through your representatives, will talk with Mr Miodowicz seriously about Poland, but in the already pluralistic Poland, according to the principle: equality of opportunity for all."

[Announcer] Asked about his view on the relations between the authorities and society, he said:

[Walesa] "The lack of pluralism has alienated the authorities. Sometimes I see (?among) the authorities really decent people who do not feel alienated, and they will not be alienated. However, in the perception of the public, the authorities have alienated themselves and this resulted in the we-and-them situation. Pluralism is [word indistinct]. People appreciate what is good and honest, and will discard what is bad. I would like us to be able to say as soon as possible—when there is democracy, freedom, and pluralism—our beloved Poland."

Lech Walesa Interviewed on Current Situation

PM0702114389 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 24 Jan 89 p 8

[Interview with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Ricardo Estarriol in Gdansk; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted] The previous Wednesday, the PZPR Central Committee had made the offer of negotiations with Solidarity subject to four conditions—respect for the constitutional order, cooperation in the economy, renunciation of "unfair" subsidies, and the guaranteeing of social peace.

Here is Walesa's viewpoint on the first of the four conditions: "The laws currently in force are not good and must be changed, but, once they have been approved, laws must be obeyed. We are talking about respect for long-term legislation (he is obviously referring to one of the points in his trade union's declaration, proclaiming respect for the constitutional order). The laws that we enact in the future will also have to be amended, but today we cannot proceed by disobeying the laws. I am referring here to fundamental things; that is, to the fact that we should not become involved in wrangles and controversies. We must improve the laws—not on the streets but in a civilized manner."

[Estarriol] Another of the regime's conditions is "social peace"—that is, rejection of strikes. Would you be prepared to accept a political, as opposed to a legal commitment not to resort to strikes?

[Walesa] Nobody is in a position to undertake such a commitment. I could act to this effect and will do so, because strikes in the current economic situation really make no sense. But it must also be borne in mind that strikes sometimes cost less than stagnation and the lack of necessary reforms. But, generally speaking, we are opposed to strikes, although we wish to have the right to hold them. [answer ends]

Rakowski's Statements in Bonn

It must be pointed out here that Polish Prime Minister Rakowski stated on the same Sunday in Bonn that the proposal on renouncing strikes was also aimed at the official trade unions, and it can now be said that Rakowski's Politburo colleague Miodowicz (who also heads the official trade unions) is not prepared to renounce the possibility of going on strike either.

[Estarriol] Another condition set by the PZPR is that Solidarity must forgo the receipt of money from abroad. Do you accept this?

[Walesa] That is not so. You have not read it correctly. It speaks of a "legal framework." Moreover, all the points that you cite are arguments to use, to uphold a specific stance. The stance itself is now different. [answer ends]

The Central Committee resolution speaks of recourse "to sources of finance which are in keeping with the law and the principle of loyalty to the state." What Walesa means by his reply is very simple: This phrase is interpreted by Solidarity as a formulation by the party aimed not at the opposition but at the most hardline sector of the nomenklatura, as a reassurance.

For the rest, the tone maintained by Lech Walesa throughout the interview was extremely conciliatory: "We certainly must put our financial affairs in order, and we will do so properly, but we greatly need dollars. The important thing is how they are spent—not how they were received. Of course, we are not talking about money that was stolen or obtained through holdups, nor are we talking about sources of finance with strings attached. But if it is money obtained without strings attached—donations—all that must be done is to see how it is spent. This is how we view it."

Different Processes and Problems

[Estarriol] As regards "restructuring," a rejection front running from Berlin through Wenceslaus Square in Prague to Sofia can now be observed. Does this not frighten you?

[Walesa] I believe that this is not quite the case. It must not be put in hard and fast terms. The people's democracies (Walesa spoke in colloquial language of the "demoludy"—a rather disparaging term) must effect reforms, but each of them is operating in specific circumstances, the reforms will be different in each country, and the opposition which they arouse will be different. There is the same system everywhere, but the peoples are different. Poland cannot be used as a reference point. We have an independent church and independent agriculture, while in other countries such things do not exist. The reform processes will therefore be different. For instance, in Hungary there are more goods, but people do not have the money to buy them. In Poland there is neither money nor goods. But the significance of the reforms is the same everywhere.

[Estarriol] Polish leader General Jaruzelski said a few days ago that the meetings he had with you in 1981 were "congenial." Do you agree with this assessment?

[Walesa] I did not see them in that light either at that time or now. [answer ends]

Half an hour earlier, at the news conference, Walesa said that "there is no need for us to meet now. I do not say that I do not wish to do so; just that I am a practical man and am seeking solutions. We now have a great deal of work to do, and I suspect that the general has, too, but if problems arise which must be resolved at the level of the general and Walesa, then of course we will meet, because we must do things for Poland's sake. For the present I am not prepared, nor do I believe that there are matters that require such a meeting, but I repeat that I am not evading it or underestimating this possibility of a meeting."

"I am a practical man," Walesa now repeats, "and it is theoreticians who perceive these things (whether or not a meeting was congenial). They worry a great deal about gestures and points of etiquette. These do not matter to me; what matters to me is whether or not I have been able to resolve something. And this is the case with me because I am a self-taught, practical man. I have no ulterior motives in saying this; I am only saying what I feel."

[Estarriol] If Solidarity reelects you chairman of the trade union, would you also accept the post of deputy in parliament?

[Walesa] In the first place, I have not considered the possibility of running for the top post in the trade union. What I must and will do now is to ensure that the new congress meets, but I have not considered whether I am going to wish to have some say there. A seat in parliament? If the trade union nominates me as a candidate, I will have no alternative, but I do not know at present whether I will do so. There are many criticisms of Walesa in this trade union.

Moscow TV Interviews Jaruzelski on Past Year

LD0602035589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council, by correspondent Yuriy Ulyanov; Jaruzelski speaks in Polish with superimposed Russian translation throughout; Ulyanov shown interviewing Jaruzelski across table; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Ulyanov] Comrade Jaruzelski, a few weeks of 1989 have passed. If you have no objection, let us go back into the past a little. From your point of view, how was last year for Poland, for the Polish people, and for you, personally?

[Jaruzelski] It is not so easy to assess a whole year in a few words. But I think that we can say that last year was very substantial in recent Polish history. It was a difficult year, but at the same time it brought many interesting decisions, ones important for our lives and for the life of the country. I believe that the significance of the year must be assessed first and foremost by what foundations it created for further development in the current year. At the same time, it is necessary to also see the complex problems that we have had to resolve and the failures in the economic sphere, where, unfortunately, difficulties arose in the implementation of certain provisions of the

economic reform. This has given rise to inflationary processes and caused various tensions. However, despite all this, positive phenomena are predominating.

First and foremost, far more opportunities for the development of national harmony and for dialogue in the process of democratization have emerged. Critical activity has increased within the ranks of our party. Certain positive phenomena have also appeared in the economic sphere. In particular, we have managed to overfulfill the plan for industrial production. Foundations have been laid for new economic solutions that should in the future provide more and more effective concrete results. I would also like to note with great gratification that it was a very fruitful year for Polish-Soviet friendship, to which particular significance was imparted by the visit to Poland by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Finally, Poland's activeness has shown up substantially in the international arena as well. Overall, I believe that we emerged from last year with chances that 1989 will be better.

[Ulyanov] Nevertheless, what sort of year was it for you, personally?

[Jaruzelski] For me personally, it was primarily full of work. This can be shown if only by the fact that I did not manage to use any of my leave. I usually spend it in your beautiful country, on the shores of the Black Sea. Unfortunately, this time I was not able to take advantage of the invitation, but, thank heaven, I cannot so far complain about my health, and I think that I will be able to work energetically even without this rest.

[Ulyanov] To return now to today. Of the events that have taken place in Poland recently, the most noticeable place is indisputably occupied by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

[Jaruzelski] Yes, the importance of that plenum is undoubtedly immense. However, one can and should note that it is also, as it were, the culmination of a definite process, and at the same time the opening of a new stage of further development. To use dialectical terminology, one can say that quantity has gone over to quality, that is, that having over the last several years implemented the line of the 9th and 10th PZPR Congresses, the line of socialist renewal, we have been going step by step along the path of development and consolidation of the new principles of the life of the party and of the socialist state.

Particularly significant in this respect were the sixth plenum, held at the end of 1987, and then the seventh and eighth plenums. They, as it were, created the conditions for the new, higher quality which brought us to the 10th plenum. It first and foremost showed the party as the motive force, as a party which in the changes taking place in Poland in all spheres of public life—economic, political, ideological, scientific, cultural—has, as it were, started, as we had determined, to speak in a louder and more noticeable voice. But here one must note a certain paradox of sorts which emerged in this respect in the recent past. The party was and remains the initiator and organizer of the changes we are implementing. But in society it has frequently been perceived as a conservative force. Such a perception was to some extent dictated both by objective conditions any by subjective factors. That, regrettably, is how a considerable proportion of society saw the party. The 10th plenum changed this concept of the party. That was very important for its authority, and for it to be able to carry out its fundamental functions effectively, and I think that in this regard the 10th plenum has and will have simply the significance of a turning point. Naturally, it has played and undoubtedly will play an immense role in the transformations taking place throughout the country, having an active influence on these transformations, imparting dynamism to them and expanding the front of national accord which is so imporant for these transformations.

[Ulyanov] Comrade First Secretary, among the issues discussed at the 10th plenum, one could call most important the forthcoming party reform. What are the fundamental features of this reform?

[Jaruzelski] You know, even at the beginning of 1982, analyzing the setback that our party had suffered, and analyzing the weaknesses that had emerged, we drew the appropriate conclusions and formed this idea, the slogan "The same party, but diferent," meaning the same Marxist-Leninist party, addressing its sources and its present-day ideas, but at the same time different in style and methods of its work and in the decisions adopted. One can say that we have managed to only partially implement this postulate, these intentions. Party restructuring is a difficult and complicated matter. There exist here the accretions of many years, certain experiences and habits that do not always match the requirements of the present day. The 10th plenum is all the more important for the fact that it made the Central Committee and the entire party aware that we could not continue acting the same way, that we had to radically change the way the party functioned. These changes are in progress and will continue to take place.

To put it briefly, firstly, we are implementing serious changes in the sphere of structure, moving the center of gravity of the work of the party apparatus and of party bodies to local, grassroots level. We believe that it is a primary duty of the party leadership to serve the party masses, and not vice versa. The most important link is the primary party organization, our party infantry, as I call it. Turning to face the party organizations, that is the essence of this plenum, as far as style of party is concerned. Very substantial changes have also taken place in the organizational structure within the Central Committee itself. More emphasis is being laid on the social factor involved in party work, while the party apparatus has to play its strictly specific role as one level in relation to the social factor. It is to this that we subordinate the organizational changes taking place in the party.

Finally, we have implemented and are implementing many cadre and personnel changes. As you know, the composition of the Politburo and of the party leadership was very substantially renewed at the 10th plenum, in the first part of it, but 50 percent, one can say. A certain reduction in the age of the party leadership has taken place. People with broad intellectual horizons, with a very bold and innovative view of the life of the party and the life of the country, have come into it. This has already recently been tangible. For that reason, I am convinced that the changes that began in party life at the 10th plenum will have a substantial influence on the consolidation of its ranks and on improving the style of its activities.

[Ulyanov] Comrade Jaruzelski, you have mentioned the documents adopted by the 10th plenum. One has the impression, however, that the greatest interest, perhaps, has been aroused by the documents concerning political and trade union pluralism. What about this? Is it, so to speak, a temporary phenomenon, a tactic of the party, or is it a strategic course?

[Jaruzelski] First and foremost, one has to say that pluralism as such—reflecting the variety and diversity of people's worldviews, approaches, and viewpoints—has always existed. Right from the beginning of the establishment of people's power in Poland we have had a number of parties. There is the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party—we have always had political pluralism. However, this has not, I would say, been comprehensive pluralism; it is an overly narrow pluralism, which is not always properly understood.

Opportunities for alliance and cooperation in partnership with other supports of socialism have far from always been valued as they should be. At the same time, the formula of the moral and political unity of people, with no grounding in practice, was for long years declared in Poland. There was no such unity, is not, and in all probability it is difficult to achieve, just as people's lives and views are very different. We consider it very harmful if the peculiarities and difference in people's worldviews and aproaches are kept underground, as it were. We have also had to deal, as you know, with an active and organized underground. But perhaps, just like a political and psychological underground, this phenomenon is, in general, destructive, for it does not allow real disagreements and contradictions to be brought to light so that they can be channeled in a positive via dialogue and concord. That is why we are now posing the questions like this: All opposition forces that stand on the platform of our constitution and recognize the socialist order and our alliance, as well as the leading role of the party, will have greater opportunities than heretofore to express their views, and will take their place in our political system.

As far as trade union pluralism is concerned, that is a special question. It must be examined separately. All in all, it is not a tactic, since tactics, as we know, are a short-term phenomenon, pragmatic to some extent. Naturally, we made this proposal in a specific situation, a tactical one, one could say. Meanwhile we were, as it happens, going for a strategic aim, the achievement of national accord in the realities that exist in Poland and in the realities we can foresee in Poland, so as in this way to create optimum conditions for the proper directing of the efforts of the entire people toward the good of our country.

[Ulyanov] You have spoken about trade union pluralism. There are those in Poland at the moment who connect the question of trade union pluralism with the rebirth of Solidarity, the former Solidarity trade union. However, we very well remember 1981, December, when you, speaking on radio and television, announced the decision of the State Council to establish martial law in the country. One reason for this was the unending strikes, the spontaneous strikes, which were being organized by Solidarity. In connection with this, will not trade union pluralism create fresh difficulties along the road toward achieving national accord about which you were just talking?

[Jaruzelski] There is a well-known saying: You cannot dip into the same river twice. Both the man who is plunging into this water changes, as does the water in the river which is no longer the same. The same can be applied in this case. As far as 12 December is concerned, which you recalled, it has etched deep into my memory. I will probably never be able to forget that day. It was an emergency decision, a dramatic one. We had to carry out an extraordinarily difficult task. But I would like to remind you that we said even then that we were not asking and would not ask who was coming from where, but would ask what he brought with him and where he wanted to go. It is from precisely this point of view that we always approach all our potential partners. Apart from this, I would like to remind you also that we did not introduce martial law to return to the old times and methods, but first and foremost to restrain a destructive wave of anarchy that was bearing down, threatening very grievous, catastrophic consequences. We also introduced it to open the way to reforms. However strange it may seem we started introducing the economic reform almost in parallel with the declaration of marial law. The implementation began 1 January 1982. Thus, martial law was a step which in fact opened up the way for socialist renewal and made it possible to carry it out under calm and secure conditions. What ensues from this? By this we did not bar the path to a single process that proceeded constructively.

We have recently come to the conclusion that the possibility of reviving trade union pluralism has emerged. The fact of the matter is that the law on trade unions was adopted in October 1982—I stress, in October 1982, that is, under martial law. This law foresaw trade union pluralism. However, in a certain sense it was suspended until such time as the situation in the country had

stabilized enough in order for this pluralism to be considered timely. The Sejm turned the adoption of a decision on this issue over to the State Council.

Having analyzed certain things recently taking place in the country, we have arrived at the conclusion that such a possibility exists. What is this statement? First and foremost, the opposition-minded part of Solidarity has itself begun to express its position quite differently from before, constructively declaring its readiness to act within the framework of our system, observing all its principles and rules. A serious split has taken place within Solidarity, one that did not exist in 1981 when it acted cohesively. A kind of split has taken place, as it happens, into this constructuve, moderate part, the extremist part. Naturally, we are dealing and can negotiate only with that part which puts forward positive proposals.

In addition, very much has changed in the world since that time. Let us recall 1981. The West, or certain significant, influential circles in the West, were in effect banking on the creation of an explosive situation in Poland. They were even fostering this to a certain extent. But today, the processes of relaxation of tension, developing thanks to powerful stimuli coming from the Soviet Union, and of the new thinking have led to the West, in principle, no longer urging the Polish opposition to such types of activity, if one could call it that, but attuning itself to a more peaceful development of events. Naturally, if I were to restrict my reply to just these statements, it might seem that I was too optimistic, with too naive an approach to this situation. By no means. We have bitter experience, and we remember it well. But one has to know that our partners also remember it, our entire people remembers it, and it would not like to experience again what it experienced in 1981. That is a very important factor which we take into account. Apart from this, whatever the case, our state has at its disposal all the necessary forces and means to prevent anything that could upset (?the calm). I believe that it will not take place and that is what I would like. For our part, this is not all thoughtlessness, decisions ignoring realities. We take note of the realities.

[Ulyanov] Well, let us perhaps look at the question from the other side. Under conditions of political pluralism and the expansion of democracy, and the bounds of the latter are as yet unknown, will the party not lose its leading role? How will it be able to retain its position as spokesman of the interests of the working people, of the working class, under conditions of this political pluralism?

[Jaruzelski] I will move away slightly from giving a direct answer to this question and will use such a definition, perhaps too free and simplified but which, probably, reflects the essential thing. If someone wants to guide everything, in the end he does not really guide anything, and we have come to understand this on many occasions from our own experience. Therefore, today the party is working out the kind of model of its guiding functions that will put fundamental levers at its disposal and prevent it from engaging in activities which, in practice, disperse its chief function and its role. It seems to me that we have reached a very important conclusion by more profoundly revealing the role of the party. Previously it was determined only as a guiding role. It should be stressed that the party retained the guiding role in the state even during the most difficult period, and had a decisive influence on governing and on the decisions made in the state system. We believe, however, that this is only one side of the matter. No less important, even more important, is the leading role of the party, a role that cannot be established by decree and that cannot be registered anywhere. It has to be built into people's minds and hearts. It should be based on belief and trust in the party, and on the belief that its program is the most correct.

In this area we have had major shortcomings and have suffered serious defeats. We must restore the leading role of the party, and it can be restored only if, on the one hand, those methods and the style of work I mentioned earlier are used, if the party once again establishes a close bond with the people and with the working class and, on the other hand, if this brings results in all spheres of life and if people feel that the party is embodied in their material and spiritual life. Finally, the third factor, which I regard as especially significant, is an understanding of the party's duty. I see it as a sense of service, a sense of responsibility toward the working class, the working people, and toward the people as a whole, for only this kind of party that has such a sense, can effectively fight for the leader's mandate and thus, effectively perform its guiding role. In short, this triad, these three functions are, in my view, inseparably linked. So, how, in concrete terms, could the party under the new conditions become in the eyes of the working people a force that represents their interests? It seems to me that at the moment all of us, the entire socialist community, are looking for how to ensure the greatest economic efficiency. After all, we know that things are not so good here. In this respect we lag behind capitalism, at least behind some of its most important and most developed states.

The most important question is how to coordinate the greatest efficiency with the preservation of socialist gains and with socialist social justice. It is the party that must work for the harmonious combination of these two factors, the party, as a reliable guarantor of the state system. Under capitalism, big capital, and the entire economic, political, and propaganda potential it has at its disposal, is the guarantor of the system. As for the guarantor of the socialist system, it is none other than the party, but a party that acts for nationwide interests, combining the struggle for increasingly high economic efficiency with the preservation and strengthening of socialist principles. I regard this as an important role of the party at the present stage.

[Ulyanov] When we describe the present stage of our countries' development, we usually use the terms: restructuring in the Soviet Union; socialist renewal in

Poland. But, can the similarity of these processes, given the existing differences, act as a stimulus for the intensification of Polish-Soviet cooperation, and if so, how do you see it doing so?

[Jaruzelski] Undoubtedly it is a major stimulus for the intensification of our friendship and cooperation. I would say in two spheres: the emotional and the rational spheres—in the emotional sphere in as much as restructuring is expanding and multiplying the ranks of friends of the Soviet Union in Poland and, I believe, in the world in general, but in Poland especially, if one bears in mind certain historical circumstances that frequently impeded development of our relations and the strengthening of our friendship.

I would say that restructuring is leading to a turning point in this area. Polish and Soviet working people are becoming closer to one another and a favorable atmosphere for this is emerging, which is important. Secondly, the rational sphere. It lies in the fact that both restructuring and socialist renewal are putting in motion processes in the sphere of the economy, politics, science, and culture, which are leading to greater decentralization, to greater independence, and to the search for original solutions. This, as it were, unties the hands of many people, organizations, and production enterprises in the establishment of contacts. We already have a very rich experience of direct ties between enterprises. They are also developing quite successfully in the sphere of science, technology, and culture. I am personally counting strongly on the signing of a bilateral treaty on cooperation among the younger generation in the near future. I would say that this would be a great page in the friendship of our peoples, a capital investment in the 21st century. Thus, one can say that restructuring and socialist renewal have opened up a new stage in our relations, and we must make every effort to fully use it.

[Ulyanov] Now, we will, if we may, also return for a moment to the past. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Poland in the summer of last year was seen both in your country and here at home as an important event in the development of the ties between our parties and states. But how do you evaluate the significance of this visit from the perspective of 6 months later, that is, from today?

[Jaruzelski] You see, there are events whose significance fades and reduces, as it were, with time. There are those that time emphasizes and singles out even more. Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit to Poland comes under the latter. The greater the distance from which we look upon it, the more apparent is the great capital this visit created. By the way, TRYBUNA LUDU newspaper published a very interesting article representing the Polish public's opinion of Comrade Gorbachev. I recommend that you read it and would be glad if the Soviet reader could become acquainted with it. Thus, this article contains the results of very substantial scientific research showing what great respect and popularity Mikhail Sergeyevich enjoys in our country, and the degree to which this was promoted by his visit to Poland. It goes without saying that the attitide toward Comrade Gorbachev has a very positive influence on the attitude to restructuring, to your party and to the Soviet people. This is a big matter, very important for us, as well as for our internal policy.

You see, previous to this one could trace a rule like this: When difficult problems, some sort of conflicts—and unfortunately our postwar history is abundant in sad and even painful events of this kind—would arise here in Poland, then anti-Sovietism would always appear at the sharp edge of a struggle against socialism. Recently, last year, we went through various difficult situations. There is also the opposition, which attacks us one way and another. But anti-Sovietism has receded way into the background. Naturally, I do not intend to embellish this matter; after all, there are undoubtedly also people and certain circles who as before do not have friendly feelings for the Soviet Union. But there are fewer and fewer of them; the main thing is that today there is no market for it, no atmosphere favorable to anti-Sovietism. It is thanks to restructuring and to the personality of Mikhail Sergeyevich, and to his visit, which was such an important event.

[Ulyanov] Thank you. If we could now try to get back to international issues; the events now taking place in the world give us grounds to draw a conclusion about the possibility of moving on along the road of building a common European home. How do you, Comrade Jaruzelski, evaluate the state of this construction project and its prospects?

[Jaruzelski] I think that we are at a very important stage of construction of this common European home, and I evaluate its prospects, in general, with moderate optimism. Why? Because I consider that two main factors have ripened for this, two fundamental elements: the objective and the subjective. The objective factor consists of the fact that there exists a danger conditioned by the military potential of both the one side and the other, the use of which could destroy our planet. But all kinds of other factors—ones of civilization, so to speak, ecological, energy, raw materials, demographic—which bring mankind and, naturally, Europe, this most densely populated continent, with problems in a quite different light from several decades ago, have worsened. Secondly, the subjective preconditions have emerged, among which one should class first and foremost the new thinking, the (?immense) dynamism, and the numerous initiatives coming from the Soviet leadership. In a word, an historic combination in time, as it were, of objective and subjective factors has occurred, which has imparted pace and stimulus to these processes. For that reason I think they must develop further, although one also needs to consider the fact that there will be various hindrances and forces that indisputably have no interest in such a process. But I think that they will lag more and more behind life's demands.

[Ulyanov] Overall, you remain an optimist in this matter?

[Jaruzelski] Yes, I am an optimist, or rather, a cautious optimist. I say an optimist, because such a process is already taking place, and cautious because, as I have already said, there exist forces that try to restrain it. I think, though, that they are weaker, and will become still weaker.

[Ulyanov] How do you see the role and place of the Polish People's Republic in the construction of a nuclear- and violence-free world in Europe?

[Jaruzelski] I would not want this to sound like a boast: Poland is a major country on a European scale, with a population of about 40 million. From the geographic standpoint it is situated in the center of Europe, with its potential and traditions, and with immense experience in foreign policy. For that reason I believe our activities in this sphere have definite significance, including our plan for the reduction of weapons and the enhancement of confidence in central Europe, which has met with great interest throughout the world and with the support of our allies. I know this, I am very glad, and grateful at the way our real contribution is evaluated.

Now, again in connection with the fresh steps being undertaken in the international arena in the field of disarmament: The statement made by Comrade Gorbachev in the UN and the decisions of the countries of our community concerning the reconstruction of the armed forces aimed at giving them a clear defensive character, and the reduction of those elements of our forces and facilities that might be eliminated without detriment to security—in all these issues we are in step with the Soviet Union. Here I would particularly like to stress that we will always be a reliable ally of the Soviet Union. We will be a powerful link in our socialist community and in the Warsaw Pact, and nothing will deflect us from this path.

[Ulyanov] Our last question, or perhaps request, Comrade Jaruzelski: What would you like to wish our television viewers, the Soviet people, today?

[Jaruzelski] First of all, I am very glad that I have had the opportunity to address our Soviet friends on television, and to stress quite emphatically everything that has linked us in the past and links us in the building of a new life, on the road of restructuring and of socialist renewal. This path is not an easy one. I consider that it is better when the way is difficult at the beginning, because then it is easier to keep going later. We, having such an ally as the Soviet Union, and situated in the same channel of transformations as it, although they are being implemented in different specific conditions in our countries, believe that this is the right path, and that we will overcome the difficulties facing us.

We need great patience while waiting for the results, and at the same time, impatience in overcoming everything that holds back our development and progress. I wish our Soviet friends—and I have a great many personal friends and acquaintances, especially among the older generation, but among young people too—success in fulfilling the great tasks that are currently being implemented in your country. In the New Year, which has, true, already begun, but started quite recently, I wish them personal happiness, good health, and all the very best, everything one could wish one's best friends.

[Ulyanov] Thank you very much.

Theoretical, Ideological Conference Opens

Jaruzelski Speaks

AU0702133489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological Conference in Warsaw on 2 February]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

There are people representing party thought and practice in this hall, representatives of all generations of Polish Marxists and all areas of ideological work. There are also visitors, representatives of fraternal parties, present here. I cordially welcome you once again.

Comrades, Poland is going through a period of profound transformations. These transformations are being born amid various contradictions, during the course of discussions and disputes, and a social dialogue that is encompassing increasingly wider circles. Changes are being instituted, the essence and goal of which is to ensure that—in theory and in practice—socialism always means humanism and democracy and that socialist justice grants a high degree of social economic efficiency.

The 10th Central Committee plenum opened a new chapter in reform-oriented searches and made the process of socialist renewal more radical.

The PZPR bears a great and inalienable responsibility for socialist renewal. A special part of this responsibility rests with theorists, scholars, and the whole ideological front. This is because a real leadership function cannot be performed without intellectual leadership in which bold, reform-oriented thinking goes hand in hand with the defense of the basic principles and values of socialism.

We wish to give our constant task of serving the interests of the workers class and working people an up-to-date form. It must take account of economic and social realities, including profound changes in employee communities, their changing wishes and aspirations, and the differences and conflicts within these communities.

It will not be easy to achieve accord combined with pluralism in a broad sense. It will also be a struggle. However, we want this process to be marked by high standards of political behavior and mutual respect, which surmounts confrontational stereotypes, grudges, and animosity.

It is understandable that the "stance" of the 10th plenum should have aroused controversy, and not just political, but also ideological controversy. This controversy should not be dismissed with an impatient gesture.

What is important is that indecision and despair should not paralyze the party and sap its cohesion and operational effectiveness.

The problem is not one of "smashing" conservative attitudes, but of cultivating a realistic way of thinking within the framework of the party and, first and foremost, of displaying initiative and vigor in the struggle for our ideological, political, and social position. This is what gives rise to the hope that our conference will provide answers to questions concerning the contemporary form of the values and principles of socialism, their place in political and economic change, the essence of pluralism, and the course of further change within the party itself.

Every theory is universal as long as it is a preliminary one and has not been confirmed by a sense of vision in everyday life. Under concrete historical, national, and cultural conditions, everything of a general kind must assume specific features. This is true of the features that socialism on Polish soil possesses.

However, we are not indifferent to the searches and activities of fraternal parties. This is because a common current is emerging, and we feel a particular affinity with the ideas and achievements of the Soviet perestroyka [Russian word used] program.

So, what is developing is unity in diversity. This means that we have no ready models.

Thus, the following questions assume a new cogency:

— Which of the achievements on the Polish road to socialism to date should be continued, preserved, and developed, and what should be revised, rejected, and consigned to the scrap heap as life rushes forward?

—What has a lasting, binding force on our party and the entire Polish left, and what is the transitory product of a particular time and is now only of historical value?

Put simply, today we are witnessing two extremes.

The first is an all-embracing negation of the course to date of socialist change, of the revolutionary path in both its Polish and international aspects.

Irrespective of whether this tendency manifests itself in a subtle or coarse form, it is actually a continuation of the struggle between the old reactionary order and the idea and achievements of socialism; it is a further attempt to reverse the course of history.

The second extreme is an all-embracing apologia for the concrete form in which socialism existed until the beginning of the 1980's.

Within this latter extreme there are shades of opinion that primarily advocate adjustments and improvements, the cosmetic modification of patterns and solutions that have been sanctioned by their existence over decades.

As is usually the case in history, extremes converge. The first, contrary to the facts, continues to declare that socialism cannot be reformed. The second, by desisting reforms, is affirming this thesis willingly or not.

Our party resolutely rejects both these extremes. It believes that it is necessary to continue to extract the whole unexpurgated truth about past experience.

The past should not be embellished or besmirched. It should be researched such as it was, with all its wealth of facts, with its whole range of causal factors, which gave it this or that direction or form.

We support further dependable research into the history of our movement and Polish socialist thought.

Today, a more extensive interpretation of the traditions of our party, the workers movement, and the entire Polish left, and the use of sources that have been unjustly relegated to the sidelines, sources that have been forgotten or ignored, is essential for the Leninist orientation.

To revive this orientation and to invigorate it in a way that will make it capable of meeting contemporary challenges, we have, in a sense, to travel the road "from utopia to science" once again. To accomplish this, we have to appreciate the importance of the works of Vladimir Lenin viewed not as a collection of timeless slogans and directives, but as the creative inspiration for what was, is, and will remain Marxism's most important process: finding new answers to new questions.

The things that served the cause of progress in the age of the steam engine should be verified, transformed, and enriched in line with the dictates of the age of microelectronics, genetic engineering, and biotechnology.

The essence of Marxism-Leninism is the ability to produce accurate generalizations and predictions about social facts. The days when "the philosopher's stone" for all man's wants and social ills was sought in "ideological laboratories" belongs to the irrevocable past.

Marx's memorable saying "doubt everything" should recover its full pertinence. However, we should not doubt in order to negate, disarm, and capitulate, but in order to free our social thought from the bonds that constrain it, to stimulate its creative potential, to restore the ability to reliably explain and effectively transform reality, and to unite new supporters.

This will result in the party being even more widely recognized as a leading force, will make it a more valuable partner, will define its ideological contours more vividly, and will provide a clearer boundary between what we will defend with the utmost earnestness and what we are ready to change, to experiment with, and submit to "trial by fire and water."

We won this creative, antidogmatic position in the great process of socialist renewal. We gave form to it in the resolutions adopted at the ninth extraordinary congress. We defended and strengthened it during the dramatic events of the years that followed. This is evidenced by the Central Committee commission report on the course and and sources of social conflicts in the history of the PPR, the declaration entitled "What We Are Fighting For and What We Are Striving Toward," and the PZPR program adopted at the 10th congress. Today, we consider certain elements of these accomplishments to be incomplete and to require modification and elaboration. At the same time, it has to be remembered that when they came into being, they often aroused opposition and prompted accusations of heresy, of almost being an affront to socialism.

Without the bold thinking and pioneering practice of recent years, we would not have an ideological and moral mandate and solid starting-point for further steps, the steps that we resolved to take at the 6th, 7th, 8th, and, in particular, the 10th plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

The party has ceased to erect artificial barriers in discussion on ideological subjects. We have placed the pharmaceutical scales on which dogmatism and revisionism, "progressiveness" and "regressiveness" were scrupulously weighed in a museum.

We are striving to make nobody feel "cramped" in the party. The effects are positive. Today's Marxist intellectuals are competent, capable of waging an ideological offensive, and a partner in dialogue with representatives of various schools of thought.

However, people who occupy themselves with providing our opponents with ideological ammunition would be of dubious usefulness. No sensible person saws away the branch on which he is sitting. No responsible intellectual seeks to undermine the paradigms of the conceptual system with which he has freely associated himself, but seeks to compare and creatively develop it.

It is true that the class struggle was simplified and depicted in absolute terms, and that the enemy was sought, and even created, in places where he did not exist. However, the idea of ideological struggle has not been invented artificially. What is more, it was frequently not only a struggle of words. Today the forms of this struggle are being changed. However, this does not mean that the essence of the conflict has disappeared. This is evidenced by the frequent expression and publication of views that are simply embarrassing on account of their pigheaded anticommunism and their ahistorical and even primitive character.

Some communities take pleasure in discussing "the end of the age of ideology." It is indicative that this solely applies to socialist ideology and does not call into question any of the concepts opposed to it.

There can be no "end to ideology." Man needs a higher goal that instills meaning into his life, work, and social existence. It is not a question of doctrinal stubbornness, but a condition for overcoming the painful feeling of alienation and loss that exists at the present time.

Allow me to make a critical remark at this point.

We highly value the party's intellectual vanguard. People who remember what things were like in the past see and know how much has changed.

However, one cannot ignore the fact that some of our theorists have gotten involved in a discussion on differential calculus although basic arithmetic is still lacking.

Elevated discussions among intellectuals are important, but what is more important for the Marxist is a real presence among working people.

What we need today most of all are mature assessments and proposals that pertain to practice, material for determining the directions, principles, and ways of reforming the state, the economy, and public life.

So, we are waiting for new individual and group work, for the results of your studies and thoughts.

The free, unencumbered course of preparations for this conference has shown how difficult and, at the same fruitful, the path leading toward comprehensive assessments and innovative conclusions is. They come into being and mature; this provides grounds for optimism. Marxist social sciences in Poland have commendable traditions extending far into the past and significant contemporary achievements to their credit. This permits one to hope that they will provide new proof of ideological and intellectual vitality. The 10th plenum has produced a great demand for bold, creative thinking. I think that you are capable of meeting it. Comrades, I wish you productive deliberations, well-deserved satisfaction on account of your contributions, and scholarly and personal success.

2 Feb Discussion Outlined

AU0702184989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 89 p 3

[Report by Piotr Rzadca: "The Third Nationwide Theoretical and Ideological Conference: The Discussion"]

[Excerpts] Eleven comrades spoke during the 2d [of February], the afternoon part of the plenary session. [passage omitted]

Wojciech Sokolewicz spoke about the native roots of Stalinism in Poland and argued that they lay in carrying over the experiences that the party acquired while operating illegally to normal conditions. He suggested that the party should clearly state that it rejects the thesis of a dictatorship of the proletariat (because there is neither a dictatorship nor a proletariat in Poland) and spoke in favor of power exercised by the entire people organized in a democratic and law-governed state. He also said that he opposed abuse of the word "socialist" by using it in connection with various characteristics and issues, which—in his opinion—places limitations on, for example, the law and other rules of public life. [passage omitted]

Zbigniew Siemiatkowski considered the question of where proreform forces are located. He said that Stalinism not only pertains to what happened after the war, but that it had already manifested itself in the existence of dogmatic, sectarian groups within the Communist Party of Poland. These groups were opposed by communists that included Warski and Kostrzewa, and our party should refer to that legacy. He said that he considered it right to maintain that the tradition of having one party [monopartyjnosc] to represent the interests of the workers class should not be continued.

Marek Fitzhand spoke about what distinguishes various socialist trends in the world. The distinguishing features apply to the values that are recognized, such as freedom, justice, equality, and eliminating the alienation of labor. He added that a new value that experience has fostered is that it is impermissible to employ methods that run counter to these values. The "monopoly on socialism," a monopoly that was usurped by Stalinism, has to be rejected. He suggested that closer ties be established with the Socialist International.

He also spoke on the question of justice and efficiency and said that one should not make an absolute out of any, even the most cherished socialist value. Understanding and applying the principle of justice in an extreme fashion may result in the greatest injustice.

The first day of the conference ended with Marek Fitzhand's speech. On Friday the work of the conference will be carried out in six problem groups.

Journalists Meet Participants

AU0702160989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Feb 89 p 3

[PAP report: "The Role and Place of the Party in the Process of Change: Journalists Meet Conference Participants"]

[Text] Polish and foreign journalists met participants in the Third Nationwide PZPR Theoretical and Ideological Conference at a press conference that was held on 2 February. Replies to the questions asked by journalists were provided by Artur Bodnar, Zdislaw Cackowski, Leszek Gilejko, Andrzej Barcikowski, and Slawomir Wiatr.

The journalists were interested in, among other things, issues connected with the open nature of ideological searches; the possibility of engaging in dialogue with socialist parties; political, ideological, and world outlook pluralism; and the development of internal party democracy. They were also asked about the role and place of the party in the processes of social, political, and economic change in the country.

In their replies, the academics said that reforms are not possible in Poland without far-reaching changes in the PZPR itself. It is essential for the party to have pluralism regarding programs, a form of pluralism that takes account of the various solutions that are proposed and even has an institutionalized character. Prof Bodnar indicated that there was a possibility of guaranteeing minorities the right to operate within the party if the basic principles of party discipline were respected. He said: "We are moving away from a simplified understanding of democratic centralism in favor of democracy within the party." Prof Cackowski noted that in choosing a given option for the path of socialist development in Poland—for the sake of efficiency—the basic goals of socialism, and the principle of social justice above all, should not be forgotten. He emphasized that the determining factor in choosing courses of development will not only be theoretical thinking, but also social practice as shaped by the political situation.

Rakowski Addresses Worker Aktivs 26 Jan

AU3102234289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Jan 89 p 2

[Speech by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at the National Conference of Worker Self-Management Aktivs in Warsaw on 26 January]

[Text] I wish to take advantage of the presence of so many Workers Self-Management representatives in this hall in order to speak to you for the first time as premier and present a few issues. It does not surprise me that

someone here today said he does not trust my government. I know Polish history, and know that for many centuries there was not a single government that anyone trusted. That is our nature. Therefore, I do not consider this remark to be an insult.

I am not an economist. I have never belonged to any industrial lobby. However, I do want to say in all honesty that the Polish economy is on the edge of the abyss all the time, and that not even the loftiest statements will save it. We have to be clear about that.

I have visited almost the whole world, and certainly every single highly-developed country. If we compare Polish work organization and materials and energy consumption with the situation in the countries we are so fond of watching, we will come to the conclusion that we are still in the stone age, and this despite the reform and the legal basis for a new state. We still have a lot of catching up to do. Even with the greatest amount of criticism expressed by us, we have to remember that we are all children of a certain era.

Why am I saying that the economy is on the edge of an abyss? Because it is beset with troubles that we are unable to remove in the course of 1 or 2 years; not even in the course of 5 years. Most of all, we are being strangled by enormous debts. We cannot simply turn our backs on those who lent us money once upon a time, mainly in the 1970's. Therefore, we have to pay. We can no longer afford to repay the principal sums, therefore we are repaying the interest. One has to remember that some of the money borrowed was used to maintain a high level of consumption. The amount of interest we have repaid in the last 6 years totals $14 billion. That means that our economy is letting blood every year. If, instead of paying this money, we used it to strengthen Polish industry, many of the issues that upset you (and me) today would not exist. There would be no basis for anger and criticism.

On the other hand, no one should suffer from delusions that the West will grant us major credits. Even if we implement a 150-percent trade union pluralism and 200-percent political pluralism, I do not think any more dollars will reach Poland. We will have to claw at our reality, to put it harshly. And there is enough to claw at, because our reserves are still huge, and not just our material reserves.

A shorter working week and a shortage of manpower are other burdens on our economy. When evaluating everything, we must also consider the fact that our population increased by about 2.5 million in the 1980's. We are the only country in this part of europe with such a high natural growth. Many of us look to the FRG or DR. However, the GDR's population has been the same for dozens of years—17 million. As for the FRG, yes, that is a rich country. However, its population is falling steadily. That is why the FRG welcomes every Pole who arrives there, especially if he is educated.

The greatest real danger to the Polish economy and our standard of living now is the enormous pressure of wages. If this pressure keeps up over the next few months, we will all go "flying." I appeal to all of you to do everything to reduce this wage pressure in your milieus. Of course you will say that there is inflation, there are rising prices, and so on. That is true. But we are entering a vicious circle in which wages are chased by prices and vice versa. One thing leads to another.

Several times, we have been told to freeze prices and wages. At the same time, others have said that this will achieve nothing, and may even exacerbate the situation. It may cancel out the incentives for better work and for reforming the economy. Apart from that, it has been said that the day when the freeze is lifted will be the worst day. Therefore, we rejected the concept of freezing prices and wages. However, if the situation continues like this, the question will arise: What are we to do?

We must consider the fact that we are in a period of various contradictions, not all of which we are capable of resolving in a short period of time. For example, there is a contradiction between the aim toward independence and self-management on the one hand, and a stubborn insistence on economic instruments that are 40 years old on the other. This is mainly a social contradiction. Producers, or some producers, are responsible for it. It is not easy to overcome it. Another contradiction is the aim to rationalize the economic system, or rather economic structures, on the one hand, and a tendency to adhere to these structures on the other. For example, even though there are strong rational arguments in favor of dividing up an enterprise, the manager's attachment to his enterprise is so strong that he will decide against this idea.

Reforming the economy is a long process. If the same system of economic management was applied for 40 years, how can anyone expect this system to be abandoned in 10 years? I have to admit that the old system was effective at a certain stage. Far be it for me to deny everything created by this system during the first development stage of people's Poland. What I mean to say is that reforming the economy involves more than just passing new laws and adopting new resolutions and decrees. It also involves more than a mere assessment of the size of reserves. The problem lies in society's awareness. Progress in the economy or in science is much faster than progress in people's consciousness.

Of course, I realize that there are situations that increase people's impatience. At times like that, it is difficult even to explain that one must be patient. However, there is no other explanation that can be offered. But does that mean we have to throw up our arms in despair? No. We can undertake activity in an effort to accelerate certain social and sociopolitical processes, but only up to a certain limit. The effects of such an acceleration also have a certain limit. They will not always satisfy people's expectations and hopes, the expectations and hopes vested in a certain economic policy.

By the way, being premier in Poland is no easy job. It is no picnic. Being premier at a time like today is purely a question of commitment, nothing more. However, regardless of what is in store for me today or tomorrow, there is one goal that motivates me. I and my colleagues want to do everything we can to make the economic life of the country and the social life of the people more rational. That is the only purpose left in my life. If you believe me, fine; if not, there is nothing I can do.

Why am I saying all this? There simply are no ideal solutions in today's economic situation. There are no ideal people either. You yourselves are not ideal people. No one is ideal, no one is devoid of weakness. of course, you will say that the man at the top should have as few weaknesses as possible. Agreed. How do we safeguard ourselves against weaknesses? One way is to seek opinions. However, that is not easy because, in Poland at least, every single economist has his own recipe, and everyone offers different advice. Perhaps the most difficult task is to select the right road. I am one of those who carefully listen to what the people have to say. Sometimes I wonder whether there is any way of detecting the rhythm that controls society, whether there is a way of discerning people's expectations and moods and differentiating between truth and imagination, and whether one can really establish the material situation of many people in Poland.

We often refer to examples in the West. But I wonder if you have ever noticed that whenever we ask someone in Poland how much he earns, he will only quote his official wages, whereas in the countries that we admire so much, no one (including tax offices) is interested in someone's wages, but in his total income. I quote this as an example of how difficult it is to establish the objective truth.

People in this hall have also complained that we do not hold enough consultations. I must confess that I was one of the originators of the idea of social consultations. However, everything has its limits. Every consultation extends the decisionmaking process. That is why, without severing ties with public opinion, and continuing to listen to what people have to say, one must at the same time make sure that executive power works efficiently. We do not want to eliminate consultations. Personally, I think that consultations should be limited to the most important issues, mainly strategic ones. Otherwise we will never have an efficient form of power in Poland. We talk too much in any case.

Finally, I would like to say a few words about workers self-management bodies. I do not want to issue a declaration defining my attitude toward them. That is not necessary; after all, I was one of those who forced through the idea of self-management bodies. I still believe that these bodies are a great historic experiment in Poland. However, dear self-management aktivists, we have to be patient, because this is a period of experimentation. There are going to be many more slip-ups and conflict situations. You will even encounter hostility. This is because the idea of self-management clashes with the cherished principle of one-man management. We must realize that the self-management system we are practicing is criticized elsewhere. A capitalist would not dream of self-management in his factory. Therefore, we must react calmly, not harshly, to all the obstacles along the road leading to consolidation of the institution of the workers self-management body. What is most important is that these bodies should become part of the system. Right now, there is a period of practical implementation. The number of conflicts that must arise from time to time depends on the wisdom of self-management cadres and aktivists. However, even this process must be viewed calmly. One should cherish one's participation in an important experiment with historic dimensions. Basically, we are the only country that is trying to turn self-management bodies into an authentic force that represents the interests of the producers.

Finally, I would like to clear up a misunderstanding. You will remember that in my introductory Sejm speech, I mentioned three priorities. Today, however, I hear from all corners of the republic: What has happened to these priorities? I said that these priorities are strategic goals. One cannot change in a single year an economic model that has developed over 40 years. Years and resources are required for this change. I will not even talk about the objections, though there are groups who would like to preserve the present economic model. Do you think there are no more people who worship great industry and refuse to let anything be touched? There are probably people like that in this hall.

Regardless of all the difficulties and tensions, we hold several trump cards. They can make the situation change very favorably. The most important trump card is what a Pole has in his head. This raw material is never exhausted. The problem is how to use it properly. The second trump card is a strong desire for change, an insistence on one's wishes in the milieu and in the factory. These are the two most important trump cards that Poland holds. In this context, let me tell you that I have great faith in self-management bodies that represent the entire work force and are entitled to speak on behalf of it. The entire development of workers self-management bodies so far has proved that among you there are many aktivists who possess a feeling of responsibility for their plant and for the development of the whole of society. I am simply counting on these people. Objectively speaking, Poland has a chance of emerging from the crisis. But that must take place with our conscious participation. My wish to you is that this feeling of responsibility increases and becomes the driving force that pushes the economy out of the present difficult situation.

Orzechowski Addresses Amity Society Congress

AU3101145989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Jan 89 p 3

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 12th congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in Warsaw on 27 January]

[Text] A real breakthrough has occurred in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union since the 11th

congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPPR]. The basis of this breakthrough was provided by the revolutionary restructuring initiated and led by the CPSU; and by the strategy of socialist renewal, accord, and reforms firmly implemented by the PZPR on the strength of the decisions reached by the 7th, 8th, and 10th Central Committee plenums.

A considerable share of the responsibility for this breakthrough rests with the TPPR.

You have come to this congress with a feeling of having done much to bring our countries and peoples together, increase knowledge about the Soviet Union, and consolidate Polish-Soviet ties. The society's huge mass of members and supporters is cultivating the best traditions of brotherhood and friendship, and adding new substance to these ties.

On behalf of the PZPR leadership and the fraternal ZSL and SD parties, I congratulate you and thank you for your work, dear delegates.

Relations between Poland and the Soviet Union have never been as good as today. Never before have they enjoyed such a favorable climate. Never before have the prospects of these relations been so good.

This applies to every sphere of our partnerlike cooperation—political, economic, social, and cultural. The framework of this cooperation is defined by the the "declaration on ideological, scientific, and cultural cooperation" that was concluded almost 2 years ago; strategic and practical economic and scientific agreements; and agreements between the parties and between social organizations; to mention the most important accords. It is the inalienable duty of everyone concerned to constantly provide new substance to these and many other decisions.

We will remember for a long time the fruitful course and unique atmosphere of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland last year. This great political event with far-reaching results caused a turning point in the consciousness of millions of Poles, and opened a new chapter of mutual interest, respect, and positive feeling between the Polish and Soviet peoples.

It is not possible to express the richness of all the features of our mutual relations in a few sentences. To put it briefly, in the past few years we have succeeded in translating a great and unimpeachable truth into the practical language of reality—the truth that we need each other.

Poland needs the Soviet Union, a great socialist power that is successfully implementing a revolutionary program of restructuring. Poland needs friendship and partnerlike, warm ties joining our parties, countries, and peoples.

The Soviet Union needs a socialist, friendly Poland; a poland that is independent, strong, stable, and sovereign; a Poland that cooperates in the building of a peaceful world free of mass-destruction weapons, and in the erection of successive floors of our common European home.

The period of restructuring, renewal, and reforms is providing this truth with new, unheard-of significance. The changes occurring in our countries and societies are quite simply an unimaginably great chance. Making the most of this chance will require a great amount of work, boldness, imagination, consistency, and determination in one's work. Complete success will not be possible without a new dimension to and a basic restructuring of the TPPR's work.

What emerges from the exhaustive pre-congress debates?

First, a realization of the fact that the Polish-Soviet alliance is a permanent achievement of the sociopolitical thought and practice of past decades. This achievement is constantly bearing new fruit and providing rich and tangible advantages in every sphere of our reality. It is of fundamental importance in safeguarding the security, independence, territorial integrity, and economic development of each country. It increases our joint contribution to the general development of civilization and culture.

Second, a strong conviction that guarding and consolidating these great values and achievements is not just the business of this or that social force or organization, but the business of the whole nation. It lies in the interests of anyone who is concerned about Poland's future. This may and should encourage greater spontaneity and broader social participation in tightening the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our peoples.

Third, a feeling that the TPPR's work style requires a profound change. Its work should involve a greater part of society than it does at present, and this work should be much more authentic. It is essential to assume a creative, open, and democratic posture toward the present substance of Polish-Soviet relations; abandon whatever requires a heavy outlay but only brings minor results; and pay greater attention to the needs, worries, and interests of people, especially young people.

It is my pleasure to announce that a "treaty of friendship and cooperation between the young people of the PPR and USSR" will be concluded in the nearest future. This will permit direct contacts between children and young people, and close cooperation between state and social institutions and organizations in this sphere.

A new, modern shape of socialism is slowly emerging around each of us in the Soviet Union and Poland, through our own desire and energetic contribution. This is a socialism that will be able to safeguard the attainment of its supreme objectives and values in harmony with the socioeconomic and political efficiency of society and the state, and in harmony with a feeling of satisfaction for fruitful work, ability, and talent.

We firmly believe that creating a new shape of socialism will encourage an even closer rapprochement and mutual understanding between the peoples of Poland and the Soviet Union, strengthen the existing strong basis for our fraternal joint activity, and create a new basis.

Guided by this conviction, I wish to assure everyone that the PZPR and its allies will do everything they can for the PPR to remain a close and incontestable ally, partner, and friend of the USSR.

The TPPR, in concert with the Soviet-Polish Friendship society, may and should play a really creative role in this work.

The draft programmatic and organizational principles and tasks of our society, placed before this congress, are a good point of departure for such ambitious prospects. I am convinced that today's congress debate will add substance to them.

Accept my best wishes of fruitful talks, dear delegates. May the congress' decisions serve to expand the achievements and effectiveness of the TPPR. May their implementation encourage a successful future for and fruitful cooperation between our countries and peoples.

Press Reports on 31 Jan Politburo Meeting

AU0602170889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 1

[Text] PAP—At a 31 January meeting attended by first secretaries of voivodship PZPR committees and heads of PZPR Central Committee departments, the PZPR Politburo assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country, and stressed the decisive role played by the attitudes of the workers class in the economic, political and social changes in Poland. The aim of the workers class to improve the quality of work and coordinate joint activity with the intelligentsia is a measure of the profundity and radicalism of the reforms, said the Politburo.

The presence and political activity of party organizations in enterprises is necessary at times of rapid economic changes and under conditions of political and trade union pluralism. Primary party organizations are and will remain the core of the party, especially in workers communities. But their role is changing; their significance as joint creators and implementers of party policy is growing. It is the duty of party committees to help and support them.

The party in enterprises is not responsible for production, said the Politburo. It cooperates with the management of an enterprise, but does not control it. Factory committees and primary party organizations must become centers of innovative concepts and social and political initiatives. They have the right and duty to adopt a stance on every issue concerning the plant and the people working in it; promote the best workers, and see to suitable material and moral incentives for workers.

Personal examples set by party members, above-average work, initiative, enterprise, and opposition toward wrongdoing are the ways to build up the party's prestige. Those are the qualities that should distinguish party aktivists in managements and self-management bodies. The nature, position, and role of a self-management body in a factory are one of the chief yardsticks of the quality of the work of party organizations.

The party's presence in enterprises is a safeguard for the development and consolidation of the class trade union movement. Political and trade union pluralism means that PZPR factory committees must oppose attempts to abuse the trade unions for political purposes and efforts to change factories into centres of social unrest and violations of the law. Party activity should be conducive to businesslike discussion on the best model for an independent trade union movement and on proper forms for expressing the variety of interests, views and opinions in an enterprise.

The Politburo listened to reports by members of the party leadership who paid visits to employees of various institutions, college students, rural inhabitants, and young people last week.

The talks and discussions, some of them in a controversial tone, focused on problems of political and union pluralism, broad national accord, the "roundtable" talks, and essential guarantees for a consistent implementation of the economic reform.

The meetings confirmed that the decisions of the 10th PZPR Plenum have been received with great interest and that, generally, they enjoy the support of various communities in cities and rural areas. Sometimes, however, emotional reactions appear, caused by a misunderstanding of the substance of party policies. Workers have expressed a fear of divisions within work forces, and an escalation of the political struggle in enterprises, harmful to the protection of employees interests.

Members of the party leadership were asked about the 10th plenum, and asked to explain the justification and meaning of individual decisions. Various opinions about the socialist transformations in our country, future role of the Sejm, and so on were voiced. There was a lot of talk about the present situation in Poland and in various communities, enterprise and farms, as well as about social moods and economic prospects. Various disturbing phenomena were indicated, especially inside enterprises and on the market, which illustrate efforts to increase wages. Such activity could force up inflation.

The Politburo gave instructions that the results of the meetings held by members of the party leadership be taken into consideration by the appropriate Central Committee cells and be used in the work of party cells and organizations.

The Politburo also discussed the preparations for organizational changes inside central and voivodship party bodies. Right now, at a time of rapid changes in the country, particularly responsible tasks are in store for the party apparatus. It is essential to seek organizational solutions which make it easier to adapt to new political and social needs and guarantee a high degree of flexibility and efficiency of the work of party bodies.

PEC Approves Delegation's Geneva Mandate

AU0302194189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 3 Feb 89

["Approval of the Mandate of the Romanian Delegation to the Disarmament Conference in Geneva"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/02/19789—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, that met on February 3, discussed and approved proposals on Romania's participation in the session of the disarmament conference in Geneva, which will resume its proceedings on February 7.

The Executive Political Committee entrusted the Romanian delegation with a mandate, whereby, during the conference, they are to actively promote Romania's stance, President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook and initiatives concerning the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race in particular, the achievement of a passage to disarmament, the liquidation of the threat of war and the ensurance of the foremost right of nations and people to existence, to freedom and independence, to life and peace.

The Romanian delegation was requested to take a firm stance and militate actively for the concomitant achievement of nuclear and chemical disarmament, for the liquidation of all means of mass destruction. It is Romania's view that disarmament questions should be regarded in a unitary manner, as component parts of a package of actions intended to contribute to stability in the world, to place interstate relations on new bases, on equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-recourse to the use and threat of force—the sole way opening prospects for mankind's safe life, free of the threat of a devastating nuclear war. [sentence as received]

PEC Meeting Held on 1988 Plan Fulfillment

Agricultural Decisions Made

AU0302185789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 3 Feb 89

["Romanian Economy in 1988"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/02/1989—Gathered on 3 February under the chairmanship of the General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Nicolae Ceausescu, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP debated and approved the report and thecommunique on the fulfilment of the single national plan for the economic and social development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1988.

Analysing this document, the Executive Political Committee assessed that new and important achievements were scored in 1988 in developing the forces of production, in raising Romania's civilization standard. The third year of the ongoing five-year plan interval saw the continuation of the process of intensive development and modernization of industry, agriculture, and the other branches manufacturing material assets. The increase of Romania's economic might made possible its ever more active participation in the world exchange of assets and in the international division of labour.

Important successes were also recorded in science, education and culture—basic factors of the economic and social progress.

Price stability, a sound money circulation, the consolidation of the national currency and a budgetary and financial balance were ensured in 1988.

The entire nation's material and spiritual welfare continued to improve on the basis of the growth of the forces of production, of the national income and of the socialist wealth. Remunerations and pensions started being increased in 1988—in concordance with the resolution of the Thirteenth Congress and of the National Conference of the RCP—a drive of great social and political significance that proves the lastingness and vitality of the national economy, reflects the constant concern of the RCP and of the Romanian state to continuously raise the standards of living of all people and improve the quality of their life.

The Executive Political Committee assessed that the 1988 achievements strongly underscored the correctness and realistic character of the RCP and the Romanian state policy of socialist construction, socioeconomic development of Romania, harmonious and balanced distribution of the forces of production throughout the country's territory, of ensuring ever better working and living conditions for all the country's citizens.

The Executive Political Committee decided the release of the communique on the fulfilment of the single national plan for the economic and social development of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1988.

Next, the Executive Political Committee analysed the report on the fulfilment of the plan for January and the measures for the integral fulfilment of the plan provisions for February and the first quarter of 1989.

During the meeting it was assessed that in January production growths were registered from the same period last year. Nevertheless, plan tasks were not fulfiled with all indices in some sectors. Firm measures were requested to liquidate shortfalls as soon as possible and to improve all activities. It was requested that greatest attention be paid to the manufacture of the production for export and to export activities.

The problems related to export—to customs checking, the delivery of all the contracted products on time and at a high quality level, to their most profitable selling on the foreign market—the RCP general secretary said—must be the problem number one that should focus the attention of all decisionmakers and of the units that have tasks in this domain.

Communique Issued

AU0702121889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Feb 89 pp 1, 3

["Communique on the Fulfillment of the 1988 National Uniform Plan of Socioeconomic Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Text] In 1988, our whole nation was mobilized by the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the party national conference, the concepts and fundamental guidelines of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party and president of the SR of Romania, included in the April theses and in the brilliant speech he made to the joint plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee, democratic bodies, and mass and civic organizations, and obtained new and important achievements in the socioeconomic development, in the increase of the national income, and in the continuous improvement of the material and cultural well-being, the quality of life, and the level of civilization for our whole nation.

Within the context of the measures to perfect the economic-financial mechanism and the entire system of workers self-management, self-financing, and self-administration of all units, we increased the responsibility of managerial councils in ministries, central departments, and enterprises and the responsibility of the working people's general meetings for the overall socioeconomic activity and for permanently developing the strengthening of socialist property. Likewise, we ensured the strict application of the policy of ensuring stable prices and a healthy monetary flow and we consolidated our national currency and ensured our budgetary and financial balance.

The results obtained at the major indicators of the socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania in 1988 compared to 1987, are as follows:

	1988 Achievements	1988 percentage compared to 1987
Population at the end of the year—thousand inhabitants	23,112	100.5
Active population—thousand people	11,070	100.6
Number of working personnel—thousand	7,843	108.7
Industrial production—billion lei		
—production goods value	1,411.6	103.6
—net production value	444.3	105.0
Agricultural production—billion lei		
Overall production value	247.8	102.9
—net production value	124.9	103.0
Total volume of goods transportation—million tonnes	2,860.4	101.4
Total volume of investments in the national economy—billion lei	243.4	98.7
Total volume of foreign trade—billion lei	329.5	106.0
—export-total—billion lei	196.4	110.5
—import-total—billion lei	133.1	100.1
Labor productivity per person—thousand lei		
—in national industry	370.0	102.1
—in construction-assembly by individual and state contracts	276.1	103.9
—in rail transportation	146.7	104.5
Total expenditure per 1,000-lei commodity		
Output in the national industry—lei	844.8	99.2
National income—billion lei	822.3	103.2
Dynamics of working personnel's average nominal remuneration, at the end of year	—	103.3
Dynamics of peasant's real incomes, in money and products, derived from work in agricultural production cooperatives and private farms, per active person	—	102.2
Retail sales of goods through socialist trade network—billion lei	292.5	100.5
Volume of paid customer services provided by socialist units—billion lei	70.6	102.3
Expenditures for socio-cultural events—total—billion lei	118.7	102.3

Note: Value figures represent the current 1988 prices, while dynamics are calculated on the basis of comparable methodological [metodologice] conditions and prices.

At the end of 1988, the population of Romania was 23,112,000, that is 333,000 more than at the end of 1985, with more than 52 percent living in municipalities and towns. The active population of Romania employed in socioeconomic activities was 11,070,000, of which 72 percent were employed in industry and other nonagricultural branches; the average number of working personnel was 7,853,000, with women amounting to about 40 percent of the total.

The successes achieved in the development of industry, agriculture, and the other branches that produce commodity goods, ensured an increase of the national income by 3.2 percent compared to 1987, thus, we achieved the necessary resources for developing and modernizing production forces and for improving our people's material and cultural standard of living. In

accordance with the decisions of the Party National Conference, in 1988 we began the action of increasing pay and pensions, and more than 4.4 million people—which represents almost 60 percent of the whole working population—and more than 800,000 pensioners benefited from this action. This greatly significant sociopolitical action proves the durability of our economy and reflects the constant concern of the party leadership with improving the standard of living and the quality of life, the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania.

Nevertheless, our achievements, which are greater than in the previous periods, were not up to the level of the efforts made in the field of investments and of our material base, because the socioeconomic development plans and programs have not been entirely fulfilled.

Results attained in 1988 in the major branches and sectors of activity are as follows:

I. Scientific Research and the Introduction of the New Technology

In 1988, scientific research continued to make a significant contribution to the fulfillment of the plan provisions. 2,885 new and modernized types of machines, equipment, appliances, and installations, 683 materials, and 446 consumers goods were manufactured and introduced in production and 1,918 technologies and new systems of mechanization and automation were taken into production.

Action was taken to expand the national raw and other material base by identifying new reserves and also integrating into the economic flow new resources with lower levels of useful ingredients and by ensuring the technologies necessary for the reintroduction in production of recoverable and reusable materials.

New technologies were developed and applied for the more rational utilization of energy resources and for the utilization of new and recoverable energy resources—solar and geothermal energy, biogas, and the heat resulting from technological processes.

Vast work was carried out to modernize production in order to increase labor productivity, reduce consumption of raw and other materials and energy as much as possible, extensively use substitutes for materials that are in short supply, limit imports to the strictly necessary amount, and increase the quality and competitiveness of the Romanian products on foreign markets.

In all processing branches of industry the technical progress became more evident with the more marked increase of the percentage of high technology and high value products, which include an increased volume of modern concepts and processing based on new technologies. The amount of new and modernized products introduced in the manufacturing process from the beginning of the current 5-year plan represent 48.4 percent of the commodity production achieved in the processing branches of the national industry in 1988.

The activity of formulating specification for products and technologies and standardizing them continued, additional resources for increasing labor productivity, reducing production costs, and improving the supply of the production sectors with technical and material goods were created, and the rationalization of the production flow and the elimination of technological losses was achieved.

In accordance with the objectives of the new agrarian revolution, research and technical engineering increased their assistance to agriculture and animal breeding by creating and putting into large-scale production new strains of more productive and resistant plants and by improving various breeds of animals. Likewise, through research we developed solutions to problems of better utilizing and increasing the productivity of the land stock and of improving the agricultural machinery systems.

We paid particular attention to the objectives of fundamental research in the basic and technological sciences and we increased our concern with cross sectors and multi-branch projects which characterize the increasingly complex tasks set before science and technology by the socioeconomic development of the country.

II. Industry

In 1988, the commodity production achieved in industry totalled 1,411.6 billion lei, a 3.6 percent increase compared with 1987. The dynamics of industrial output achieved in the main branches are as follows:

	1988 in percentages compared with 1987
Industry—Total	103.6
Extractive Industry	102.1
Electric and Thermal Energy	106.9
Ferrous Metallurgy	102.5
Machine Building and Metal Processing	103.8
Chemical Industry	103.0
Building Materials	104.4
Wood Processing (including utilization)	102.9
Consumer Goods Industry	103.8

Greater concern was shown for fulfilling the provisions of special programs of developing the domestic base of raw and other materials; the net coal production reached 58.8 million tonnes; 9.4 million tonnes of crude oil and 33.0 billion cubic meters of useful methane gas (including free gas) were extracted; and 75.3 billion Kwh of electric energy was generated.

In the processing industry, the product renewal process intensified—as a result of the implementation of the program on improving the organization and modernization of production—with larger growth rates registered in peak technological branches which better utilize material resources and manpower. In the metallurgical industry, we produced 14.33 million tonnes of steel; important increases were registered in the production of rolled steels with a higher processing degree.

In the machine building industry, we produced electrical engineering, electronic, and computer technology devices worth 11.3 billion lei; precision machinery, products of the optics industry, various equipment, and hydraulic and pneumatic elements worth 15.4 billion lei; about 900 machine-tools with numerical control; 121,400 automobiles; 17,400 trucks and tractors.

The chemical industry produced 653,700 tonnes of macromolecular products, 163,600 tonnes of synthetic rubber, and 297,800 tonnes of chemical fibers and yarns.

In the consumer goods industry, the variety range of products was diversified and the manufacture of better quality products expanded. Thus, we produced about 1.25 million square meters of fabrics, textiles worth 60 billion lei, 119.3 million pairs of shoes, and almost 20 billion lei worth of wood furniture; the production of electrical household appliances also expanded.

The food industry, which has also registered significant increases compared with the previous year, produced important quantities of meat and meat products, fish, milk and dairy products, butter, sugar and sugar products, prepared foodstuffs, and other food products.

In the small-scale industry, 132.4 billion lei worth of commodity production was achieved; local resources were better utilized and household items were diversified. We consistently implemented the RCP policy of rationally deploying the forces of production throughout the country's territory, by building new units in the less industrialized counties, which led to an approximation of the socioeconomic development level of the counties. Higher development rates than the country's average one were registered by the following counties: Gorj, 17.6 percent; Giurgiu, 15.2 percent; Calarasi, 12.0 percent; Vilcea, 8.0 percent; Tulcea, 7.4 percent; Botosani, 7.2 percent; Mehedinti, 6.4 percent; Satu Mare, 6.3 percent; Ialomita, 5.4 percent; Vaslui, 5.4 percent; Alba, 5.2 percent; Vrancea, 4.3 percent; Covasna, 4.3 percent; and other counties.

Labor productivity in the national industry increased by 2.1 percent, compared with the previous year, and costs per 1,000 lei worth of commodity production in the national industry were cut by 6.6 lei, thus obtaining total savings worth 7.2 billion lei.

Although overall good results were scored in industry, the plan provisions were not entirely fulfilled in some sectors. Certain ministries, central departments, and enterprises did not work in a spirit of responsibility to prepare and smoothly fulfill the item-specified production, particularly that earmarked for export.

In the energy sector, shortcomings were registered in fulfilling investment projects, carrying out major repairs, and utilizing power installations. Ministries and central departments failed to fully implement the measures included in the programs on improving the organization and modernization of production. Certain sectors failed to ensure the appropriate operation of machines, equipment, and installations at planned parameters. The nonfulfillment of planned tasks to increase labor productivity and cut back on material expenditures—mainly because of excessive specific consumption, failure to observe utilization indexes for machines, and nonobservance of provisions on recovering reusable materials—had a negative impact on profits and economic efficiency.

III. Agriculture In 1988, the process of intensive development and modernization of agriculture, a basic branch of the national economy, continued to expand and steps were taken to implement the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

In accordance with the national program provisions for guaranteeing sure and stable crops, steps were taken to intensify land improvement operations, in order to better organize and systematize the territory. In 1988, in the sphere of irrigation, small and large-scare improvement work was carried out on an area of 380,300 hectares, including 205,000 hectares of completed operations or those which are close to completion and will be commissioned in spring 1989, thus increasing the improved overall area to 3,750,000 hectares. Drainage work was carried out on 144,500 hectares as well as anti-soil erosion work on 141,700 hectares. At the end of 1988, the area improved through drainage operations amounted to 3,404,000 hectares and the area on which anti-soil-erosion works were carried out amounted to 2,490,500 hectares. In 1988, agriculture was supplied with 1,426,000 tonnes of nitric, phosphoric, and potassic chemical fertilizers in terms of active ingredients and with other chemical material to combat pests; at the same time, 43.3 million tonnes of organic fertilizers were applied.

In 1988, the state and cooperative agricultural units scored results which strongly prove the superiority of our socialist agriculture and the ability of our peasantry and of all working people in this branch to obtain, year by year, ever richer crops and better livestock outputs.

The vegetable agricultural production in 1988 was higher than in 1987 and amounted to 32.6 million tonnes of grain. Important outputs were also achieved at other crops, such as 10,050,000 tonnes of field vegetables, 2,880,000 tonnes of fruit, and 2,245,000 tonnes of grapes.

Last year, more than 250 state and cooperative agricultural units obtained record crops of more than 8,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare and more than 20,000 kg corn cobs per hectare; large crops were also obtained by various units at other crops and in the livestock sector.

At the end of 1988, the number of livestock in state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives amounted to 4,309,300 cattle, 9,629,500 pigs, and 8,387,600 sheep, thus registering increases at all breeds.

This increase in the vegetable and animal agricultural production has made that deliveries to state stocks by socialist agricultural units and private farms should be higher in 1988 than in 1987, both at the main vegetable agricultural products and at the animal products.

However, the results in agriculture last year were not up to the possibilities offered by the existing material base. This is because of the fact that certain counties and agricultural units did not work in accordance with agricultural scientific requirements and did not always act in a spirit of complete order and discipline and of maximum responsibility to commendably conclude all operations on schedule—beginning with sowing operations up to the harvesting and storage of the crops.

IV. Silviculture and Water Management

In silviculture, in 1988, further steps were taken to implement the tasks and targets of the national program for preserving and developing the forestry stock. In 1988, afforestation and forest regeneration work was carried out on an area of 46,500 hectares. Actions continued to promote valuable indigenous species, which amounted to 42.9 percent of the newly afforested area.

In the field of water management in 1988 new reservoirs totaling more than 226 million cubic meters were commissioned, waterway regulation operations were performed on a stretch of 139.1 km, and anti-flood damming and other aggradation work was carried out on a stretch of 140 km, to provide protection against floods.

V. Transportation and Telecommunications

In 1988, the overall volume of goods transported was 2,860.4 million tonnes and the volume of passenger transportation reached 61.7 billion passengers per kilometer.

The material base of transportation for general purposes increased through the addition of 54 diesel and electric locomotives, more than 2,600 freight and passenger railroad cars, and sea-going and river boats with a capacity of more than 200,000 tonnes.

However, some shortcomings were evident in certain transportation branches regarding the full utilization of available means, the improvement of the goods transportation and supply flow, and the strict observation of norms for fuel and electric power consumption.

The volume of post and telecommunication activities in 1988 increased by 5.8 percent compared with 1987.

VI. Investments-Construction

In 1988, the total volume of investments achieved in the national economy was 243.4 billion lei; the largest part of these funds was allocated to productive projects in industry, agriculture, transportation, and housing construction.

About 216 billion lei worth of fixed assets were put into operation, thus increasing the country's economic potential by 190 key industrial, agricultural-zootechnical, and other productive units. We thus developed the productive potential in the fields of energy, mining, metallurgy, the machine-building industry, electrical engineering, chemistry and petrochemistry, the wood and construction materials industry, and the food industry.

Steady work continued on the country's great worksites: the Cernavoda nuclear power station, the Bucharest—Danube navigable canal, the Bucharest subway and civic center, and the Siret-Baragan canal-highway. Many enterprises were modernized and a larger number of major repair, general overhaul, and other modernization operations were carried out on various pieces of technological equipment and installations.

The program of locality modernization and systematization and of building dwellings and other urban and technical facilities continued to proceed at a steady pace both in the capital city and other municipalities and towns as well as in villages; 104,200 dwellings were finished, of which almost 13,300 were in villages.

However, some shortcomings were also evident in the investments-construction activity, namely in organizing and carrying out operations and in utilizing machines, installations, and manpower, which led to nonfulfillment of all plan provisions and to delays or the noncommissioning of certain planned productive units.

VII. Foreign Economic Relations

The volume of foreign trade, estimated at the current trade rate, amounted to 329.5 billion lei. In 1988, our country had economic and cooperation relations with 149 states. The volume of exports in 1988 was 196.4 billion lei, that is 10.5 percent higher than in 1987. Goods with a high processing degree—machines, transportation means and equipment, chemical products, and industrial consumer commodities—made up some 63 percent of the total volume of exports.

Despite difficulties caused by restrictive and discriminatory practices in international economic relations, the foreign trade activity in 1988 has led to a hard currency trade balance surplus of about 4 billion dollars, thus ensuring the repayment of an important part of our foreign debt.

VIII. The People's Material and Intellectual Living Standard

The successes of 1988 in the development of the material production and the increase in the overall economic efficiency were reflected in the achievement of a national income of 822.3 billion lei, which led to increasing the economic strength of the fatherland and to further raising the well-being of the whole nation, the supreme goal of our party's policy.

The remuneration fund for the working personnel was 293.2 billion lei in 1988, that is 3.3 percent higher than in 1987, mainly as a result of measures adopted by the party leadership to increase the remuneration of the working personnel with a basic pay of up to 2,000, lei between 1 August and 1 November 1988, and the remuneration of the working personnel with a basic pay of 2,001- 2,250 lei, between 1 November 1988 and 1 January 1989. The minimum monthly basic pay in the overall economy was raised from 1,500 lei to 2,000 lei. More than 4.4 million working people benefited from these measures, primarily young people employed for just a few years in production or various other sectors. The average net nominal pay at the end of 1988 was 3,135 lei. By firmly applying a policy of stable prices and tariffs, the evolution of the index of prices and service tariffs has been below the planned level.

The peasantry's nominal incomes—in money and produce—derived from work in agricultural production cooperatives and private farms, calculated per active person, increased by 2.2 percent in 1988 compared with 1987, as a result of a larger agricultural production and better organization of work in agricultural cooperative units.

In 1988, the average state social security old age pension for full length of service was 1,887 lei, that is 2.1 percent higher than in the previous year.

An important role in raising the people's living standard was played by the funds allocated to financing social and cultural actions, which in 1988 amounted to 118.7 billion lei. These funds were used for developing and modernizing education, culture, health care and for paying children allocations and allowances, pensions, scholarships for pupils and students, and other allowances.

Retail sales of goods through socialist trade outlets were higher than in 1987 and totaled 292.5 billion lei.

The volume of paid customer services provided by socialist units—including transportation, telephone, and community administration—totalled 70.6 billion lei, that is 2.3 percent higher than in 1987. The range of services continued to expand and diversify, thus better satisfying the people's requirements.

All grades of education continued to improve and modernize in accordance with the national economic requirements for skilled manpower, by expanding and diversifying the forms of linking education with scientific research, production, and the social and political practice.

The educational network currently consists of 27,975 units, of which 12,169 kindergartens, 13,768 primary and secondary schools, 981 high schools, 788 vocational schools, 225 foremen schools, and 44 higher education institutions with 101 faculties.

At the beginning of the 1988/89 school year, there were 5,562,600 students in schools, which represents 24.1 percent of the country's population, of which 831,100 are pre-school children, 4,572,000 are pupils, and 159,500 are students.

In accordance with existing manpower requirements, in 1988 the national economy employed more than 340,000 skilled workers and cadres from vocational schools, high schools, and higher education. At the same time, almost 3.5 million working people were involved in the process of recycling and professional improvement.

Cultural activities continued to expand and diversify. In 1988, 26 artistic long feature movies and 589 scientific and artistic short-feature documentaries were produced; more than 2,970 books, newspapers, magazines, and other publications were printed in more than 1,480 million copies.

New hospitals, dispensaries, and polyclinics were put into service; these, along with supplies of modern medical equipment and technology and a larger number of medical and health personnel, have contributed to improving medical care for the people. The number of hospital beds has reached the figure of 215,000, that is 9.3 beds per 1,000 inhabitants. Medical services for the population was ensured by 48,800 physicians, of which 7,200 dentists—that is 1 physician for 472 inhabitants—and by 135,200 middle level health cadres. The technical-material base of tourism, recreation, and spa treatment was further developed.

Drawing a balance sheet of the distance covered in the first 3 years of the 1986-90 5-year plan, one can say that the Romanian people—under the leadership of our glorious party headed by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—have attained in this period new and important achievements in promoting the country's socioeconomic development, increasing the industrial

and agricultural production, and raising the general wealth of the fatherland and the material and intellectual living standard of all the people.

The successes scored in the first 3 years of the 1986-90 5-year plan are a lasting foundation for successfully implementing the established plans and programs and the decisions of the 13th Congress and National Conference of the RCP, for fulfilling the strategic goal of our fatherland's transition to the higher stage of a medium developed country, and for raising the overall level of civilization and well-being of the whole nation, which is the supreme goal of the RCP policy.

In 1989, the central management bodies in enterprises, central departments, and ministries should give priority to fulfilling, in an exemplary manner, all provisions of the approved plans and programs.

In industry, efforts should concentrate on smoothly fulfilling the item-specified production in all branches and firmly implementing the programs on improving the organization and modernization of production, through the promotion of the latest achievements of science and technology.

In agriculture, the fulfillment of the requirements of the new agrarian revolution should be reflected in a more efficient administration of the land stock, in larger crops per hectare and larger overall yields of grain, vegetables, and fruit, in better animal outputs and a larger number of livestock, and in the greater contribution of this branch to ensuring supplies to the people and satisfying other requirements of the national economy.

Research should be fully involved in the resolution of complex problems on modernizing production structures, expanding the energy and raw materials base, and manufacturing new and better materials and new products and technologies that can better utilize domestic raw materials and our people's work. In all branches and sectors, one should strictly observe material and energy consumption norms and should constantly strive to reduce consumption, by improving technologies and better organizing the entire activity.

At the same time, the investment activity should make a greater contribution to the construction of units planned to be put into operation, by avoiding the scattering of funds on too many worksites; particular attention should be paid shortening the time until all planned parameters are reached.

All branches should steadily work to apply the established measures on increasing labor productivity, raising the technical and qualitative level of products, improving the working people's professional training, and increasing the efficiency and profitability of the entire socioeconomic activity, by cutting back on production costs and strictly observing economic-financial standards. The unflinching implementation of the principles of self-management and self-administration and the better functioning of our revolutionary workers democracy bodies should be reflected in the achievement of a new quality in all socioeconomic fields.

A key target of the 1989 plan and the entire 5-year plan is to ensure our country's greater participation in the international exchange of assets and to expand Romania's economic ties with the socialist countries, the developing countries, and all states in the world, while also increasing the efficiency of our foreign trade and its contribution to the growth of the national income.

The united work of all working people and the whole nation under the wise leadership of the party and of Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu will guarantee the fulfillment of adopted plans and programs in an exemplary manner. We will thus achieve—in the year of the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and of the 14th RCP Congress—new and important successes in building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring our fatherland's progress to the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

The Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development

The State Planning Committee

The Council of Ministers

The Central Statistics Directorate

Additional Speeches From Belgrade LCY Plenum

Turpurkovski Gives Address

AU0702095089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 89 p 7

[Report on speech by Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee, on the third day of the 20th LCY Central Committee in Belgrade on 1 February: "Everyone Has Their 'People'"]

[Text] The presidents spoke yesterday. They, said Dr Vasil Tuporkovski, presented in practical terms and in a synthesized way the platforms which exist in the LCY from which we should definitely proceed in the construction of a Yugoslav synthesis. There are differences, we have all heard them here, we have probably faced them. I do not see a problem in the differences, especially not in the objective and existing differences. However, I see a problem in that long ago we began to neglect a Yugoslav synthesis, and therefore its socialist self-managing and democratic elements as well. I do not see this as a possible amnesty for one single part of the LC or for one leadership in the LCY.

To Respect the Person and Integrity

Because of my deep conviction that there can be room in a progressive movement only for principled relations, reasoned debate, comradely criticism, and self-criticism in order to develop objective stands and true assessments, I agree with the speech by Vinko Hafner about President Comrade Suvar. Each one of us in the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as well as each member of the LCY Central Committee, should be discussed openly. Even though he is president, Comrade Stipe Suvar is no exception, and I believe that he does not want to be one, but he is defending himself with his post of president. Another thing is that all of us have to protect the dignity of the post because this involves the president of our progressive movement.

However, I think that he will have to think hard about the criticisms that have been voiced, although it is essential that we all together assess in a critical and self-critical way where something is holding us up and where something is inappropriate, where something is helping our move forward and where something is hindering our action in one of the most delicate stages of development.

However, if we do not feel responsible for creating conditions in the LC as a revolutionary party, for reaching assessments of our work with positive and negative results along with respect for the person, human integrity, and on the basis of an objective evaluation of all aspects of what we are doing and what we are advocating, then we will not give the essential stimulus to the stabilization of the general situation in country, which we owe as the LCY Central Committee.

I want to say on this occasion that I have very clear opinions on Kosovo, which I have presented publicly, as a drama of our movement, a disaster for civilization because of a lack of respect for basic human rights, which is reflected in the entire standing of Yugoslavia, both in the world and in every view, his personal attitudes about fairness, justice, and rights [sentence as published].

I also have views about rallies as the democratic potential to solve the social contradictions in Yugoslavia, in which one should seek its democratic elements, and not vice-versa and in a rush; about attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, as destructive behavior toward one of the cohesive factors of which we have a shortage of (we do not have too many of these); on constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia as politically, legally, and constitutionally as you wish, justified and necessary; about the democratization of social relations, relations without an alternative, if we want to go forward, and about other things. I am quite aware that many other comrades think differently about all this.

As far as I am concerned, however, I will endeavor not to allow these differences to push me into unprincipled behavior, and this is happening to us. We are also becoming captives of a priori stands and attitudes toward people. Such a practice is entering the LCY, and this should disturb and worry us. This is not enough. We, as the Central Committee of the LCY, are also responsible for such a dangerous development.

Someone in their speech said, and I understood this in a specific way as a threat, that everyone in this country has and can have "their own people." I would ask—what is wrong with the LCY? Now we have already heard about two parties. Can everyone have their own party?

I belong to one people, but they are not mine in the sense of the right for us to speak on their behalf. They are definitely even less mine in the sense that they must defend me because I belong to them by the fact of my birth. In the republic where I come from, there are also other peoples and nationalities, and I would ask—whose are these peoples and nationalities? What happened to Yugoslavism? What happened to ideas about Yugoslavia?

Clenched Fists at Everyone

Yugoslavism and the national interests of our peoples and nationalities are dialetically and fatefully united in one single entity. It is called—Yugoslavia. However, I would like to hope, and no one can deprive me of this, that we will create conditions for future generations to consider cosmopolitanism and the world community as their own civilizational and cultural ambience.

Comrade Vinko, I explained in KOMUNIST, and that was even in the Slovene edition, what you in fact asked me—How are coalitions formed in the LC? You do not have to agree with this. We agreed in the interim that I will give you a copy tomorrow, in fact in Slovene.

A reply arrived recently, when JAT and a score of international airlines were informed by the border control administration in Koblenz that they could transport persons under the age of 16 to the Federal Republic and that no entry visas were required for that category of passengers.

"We transport passengers, not politics," JAT representatives in the Federal Republic say. They set out that the groups of children who board JAT planes in Calcutta or Bombay as Cathway Pacific's passengers possess passports which are in order, return tickets and the names of persons with whom they will be staying in the Federal Republic.

Thus, as JAT employees point out, all West German regulations are respected, as JAT has established in direct contact with West German authorities and the West German Embassy in Belgrade. JAT representatives are astounded by the accusations presented by Minister Zimmermann, who, they say, is fighting internal political battles "over our backs."

Goods Exchange Protocol Signed With Bulgaria

AU0102204989 Sofia BTA in English
1954 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (BTA)—Today, here, the deputy minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, Mr Krustyu Popov, and Mr Djordje Hadjimihailovic, deputy federal secretary for foreign economic relations of Yugoslavia, signed a protocol for exchange of goods and services between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for 1989. The document envisages a barter between the two countries amounting to 380 million dollars, which is 20 per cent more than last year's barter.

Relations With Bulgaria, Vietnam Viewed

LD0602174189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1636 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—In all contacts with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia will insist that Sofia change its position towards the Macedonian national minority in that country, it was set out at today's session of the League of Communists of Yugosalvia (LCY) Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation.

Bulgaria has for the past 35 years been negating the existence of the Macedonian national minority, although it had in the period immediately after World War Two permitted that nationality to express its national identity, it was set out today.

Yugoslavia maintains that the Bulgarian side must, in the name of good-neighbourly relations, re-examaine its position towards the Macedonian national minority, a position which now heavily burdens relations between the two countries.

The LCY Central Committee Commission assessed that the talks held in Sofia recently between the then LCY Central Committee member Marko Orlandic and ranking Bulgarian Party officials marked the renewal of high-level dialogue between the two parties after an interval of ten years.

The LCY Central Committee Commission today indicated the possibility of a renewed development of party and state relations between Yugoslavia and Vietnam.

The solution of the Vietnamese-Kampuchean problem could lead to the expansion and strengthening of relations between Yugoslavia and Vietnam, as set out today.

Albanian Paper Criticized for Negative Stance

LD2501214289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1856 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)—At the very time when the participants in the recent Balkan conference in Tirana, including the Albanian representatives, were reaffirming their countries' readiness further to promote the Balkan dialogue and cooperation, the leading Albanian daily ZERI I POPULLIT published a commentary which discredited the statements of the host country.

The commentary "Belgrade's Provocations and Aggressive Intentions," full of harsh words and insults, was published after contacts between Yugoslav and Albanian representatives in Tirana and parallel with news reports about a better understanding between the two countries.

ZERI I POPULLIT used a satirical article published in the Yugoslav youth magazine MLADINA of Ljubljana last October to allege that Yugoslavia intended to attack Albania.

It is absolutely inconceivable that a newspaper, which aspires to be serious, absolutely literally interprets a satirical piece and presents it as an actual operational plan for a military intervention in Albania, as ZERI I POPULLIT has done.

The question of how much taste MLADINA has shown in the satirical piece is open to discussion. However, one cannot but wonder whether the presentation of the satirical article, as a sensational military secret, was actually meant to stir hatred among the Albanian people towards the "aggressors" and "fascists" in the north. It is beyond doubt that that was the actual intent, an intent which is at variance with the statements on the Balkan spirit of cooperation and a result of a spirit of hatred. Yugoslavia had believed that the spirit of hatred was a thing of the past but ZERI I POPULLIT has proved it wrong.

It is beyond doubt that we are exposed to provocations of Serbian nationalism, president of the Skopje Communists Vasil Kostojcinivski said, but the fact tha the Serbian people and the League of Communists of Serbia built a historical stand toward equality and authenticity of the Macedonian people is overlooked.

President of Skopje's war veterans Ilija Neskovski said at the session that the organization of war veterans was giving its full support to the LCY Central Committee and its leadership to succeed in implementing party decisions and in stabilizing the country's situation before their terms of office expire.

This is the first official support the Republic of Macedonia gave the Yugoslav party leadership and its president, who has recently been called to account by citizens and Communists from the Republics of Serbia, Montenegro and the Vojvodina Province.

The Yuoslav party leadership and its president have in the past few days received the support of the Republic of Croatia. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia expressed its support to the Yugoslav party leadership yesterday.

Slovenia Wants 'Congress of Tolerance'

LD2701203389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1830 GMT 27 Jan 89

["Yugoslavia—Communists in Slovenia Insist on 'Congress of Tolerance'"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Ljubljana, January 27 (TANJUG)—The Ljubljana daily DELO today for the first time indicates that the Communists of the Republic of Slovenia might not participate in the next Yugoslav party congress if the congress is only to mark "the accession of a new political bureaucracy and the restoration of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a monolithic party in power."

The warning from Yugoslavia's most highly developed republic—two million or so of whose inhabitants have already embarked on a road of a kind of political pluralism (a number of the so-called alternative organizations and movements have been legalized)—comes at a time when differences over the date and character of the next Yugoslav party congress—special, early or regular one—are turning into open quarrels.

If the next congress proves to be one of monolithism and intolerance, which do not recognize the right to a different opinion, members of the League of Communists of Slovenia will not participate in it and the party will no longer be theirs, as DELO sets out.

A congress of monolithism and intolerance would only mean a further rift in Yugoslavia, which the League of Communists cannot and must not permit itself, the Ljubljana DELO, the organ of the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia, writes. The Social Alliance is the largest sociopolitical organization in the Yugoslavia.

DELO assesses that the tones heard at the recent party conference of the Province of Vojvodina (part of the Republic of Serbia)—at which calls were made for the dismissal of the Yugoslav party presidency president and for a special Yugoslav party congress—point in direction of monolithic party. The requests raised at the Vojvodina party conference were upheld by the party leadership of Serbia two days ago.

The Slovene daily feels that a special party congress would have meaning only if marks the end of "a quiet coup" in Yugoslavia (allusion to the dismissals of entire leadership in eastern parts of the country and calls for dismissals in the Yugoslav political leadership), if it restores constitutionality and legal order in the country and if it marks the beginning of the end of the political monopoly of the two-million-strong League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

FRG Accuses Airline of Abusing Asylum

LD0602202489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—West German Minister of the Interior Friedrich Zimmermann has reproached the Yugoslav airlines JAT for enabling underage refugees from Sri Lanka to enter the Federal Republic of Germany by abusing their right to asylum.

What is involved, however, as TANJUG's correspondent has learned, is the transport of passengers possessing tickets issued by other airlines, for which JAT and a number of international airlines have obtained the explicit approval of the West German border authorities, which are under the jurisdiction of Minister Zimmermann.

In a statement to the yellow press weekly BILD AM SONNTAG, Minister Zimmermann said that "It is unheard of how new channels for the entry of foreigners are steadily found." "It is for that reason that I have asked colleague Genscher to contact the Yugoslav Government in order to have that prevented," Minister Zimmermann said and urged that entry visas be introduced also for persons under the age of 16.

BILD AM SONNTAG, for its part, said that the persons who have been given asylum in the Federal Republic would cost that country five billion marks in 1989. Just for the sake of comparison, the cited sum is equivalent to what West Germans annually spend to feed their dogs, cats and other pets.

According to what TANJUG's correspondent has been able to learn, the Yugoslav airlines JAT last year contacted West German authorities, inquiring whether the transport of special groups of passengers of the Cathay Pacific Airlines would be in line with West German laws.

None of the political forums in Serbia, as observers note, has recently criticized the Belgrade press as sharply as today's session of the Presidency of veterans's organization.

The Presidency of the veterans' organization of Serbia went a step further by today opposing the recent appointment of Dusan Mitevic, member of the Belgrade innermost party leadership, as general manager of Belgrade radio-television. An assertion was presented at the session that the Assembly of Serbia and the republic's veterans' and youths' leaderships—which several years ago turned down the proposal for Mitevic's election as director of Belgrade radio television—this time were not at all consulted before his appointment.

The Presidency of the veterans' organization otherwise accepted the assessments by Serbian party presidency concerning the political situation in this republic. As its candidates for member of the Yugoslav state Presidency, the veterans' organization Presidency ran four top-placed men in the republic—Slobodan Milosevic, Btrisav Jovic, Bogdan Trifunovic and Petar Gracanin.

Titovo Uzice LC Warns Against 'Hostile Elements'

Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Intercommunal Conference of the LC in Titovo Uzice has concluded that the political situation in the region has become destabilized to a considerable extent in the past few days. In Ivanjica, Nova Varos, Prijepolje, and Priboj, all top officials have resigned at the request of gatherings of workers.

Work organizations and institutions continue to select coordinators for the collective bodies of acting officials. Because of a possibility of further requests for replacing bureaucratized leaderships and even executive bodies, attention is drawn to the attempts by hostile elements to sow hatred with the aim of destroying brotherhood and unity in ethnically mixed communities.

Kekovic Explains Statement on Montenegro Security

LD2801225889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 28 January (TANJUG)—A speech on the security aspects of the protest meetings in Titograd was given by Undersecretary for State Security of Montenegro Vladimir Kekovic, on behalf of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs at a session of the Committee for Internal Affairs of the SFRY Assembly and in the Montenegrin Assembly. The speech was met with a stormy reception in this republic and further afield. Kekovic claims that it has often been wrongly interpreted, and has asked us to publish his explanation:

Nowhere in these speeches was it stated that the meetings in Titograd and elsewhere in Montenegro were organized by separate groups, nor that those groups manipulated working people and citizens, as has been conveyed and interpreted by some parts of the media mistakenly and with ill intentions, says Kekovic.

However, he adds, while stressing the positive social processes and the justified demands of working people and citizens for vital changes, I spoke about individuals who are acting from positions contrary to the interests of the working class, of various nationalist orientations and hues, who in line with these positions and with these aims are associating among themselves in Montenegro, as well as with persons acting from the same positions in other environments outside this republic, in which context I mentioned Pristina, Belgrade and Novi Sad.

My speech, stresses Kekovic, did not enter into an assessment of the political situation in Montenegro, but only related to one security factor and to those individuals who are trying to exploit these processes for their own ends.

Skopje LC Presidency Supports LCY Leadership

Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Skopje, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—Communists of Skopje, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, are extremely concerned over the unfavorable situation in the country, disunity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, confrontations between the leaderships and inter-nationality division, which are endangering Yugoslavia's unity, it was said at a session of the Presidency of the Skopje City Party Commitee today.

The leadership of the League of Communists of Skopje is firmly making it known to those forces, whose aim is to destroy trust between the nations and nationalities in the country, that Yugoslavia was not created at a negotiating table, but through a joint struggle and huge sacrifices of all its nations and nationalities.

Skopje Communists maintain that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia must not be a coalition of republican and provincial Leagues of Communists and that it must not build its policy depending on the current balance of forces, while forgetting the undivided interests of Yugoslavia's working class, it was assessed at the session.

Macedonia is in favor of Yugoslav option, it was underscored at the meeting of the leadership of the Skopje League of Communists. It was also noted at the meeting that there have been attempts of destabilizing Yugoslavia as a whole by destabilizing Macedonia.

Some write of Macedonia as of an uncivilized environment which does not understand political pluralism. They say that the Macedonian people are incapable of having their own statehood and warn them of the danger of Serbian nationalism, it was said at the session.

on the issues raised by the working people and citizens, by immediately undertaking the necessary measures, and by tightening the issues of responsibility, including dismissals. [passage omitted]

Assesses Crisis

LD0702030089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's crisis has taken on fresh and perilous dimensions because of persistent hesitation and delays as regards the enforcement of the country's reforms—the collective leadership of the Republic of Serbia assessed today.

Serbia's leadership maintains that what is absolutely necessary for the implementation of economic and social reforms is to cut the present adverse economic trends and halt the destructive inflation that exceeded 250 per cent last year. The objectives also depend on whether the conservative forces would leave the leaderships, it is said in an announcement from the Serbian leadership's session.

The leadership of Serbia hence upholds the workers' and citizens' just demands for replacing through normal political procedures those responsible for the country's difficult situation. It also commits itself for the pluralism of self-management and political interests and against the introduction of a multi-party system. Political pluralism, as was said, should be expressed within the framework of the Constitution and the political system and within the Socialist Alliance as the country's broadest front of all social forces.

The state Presidency of Serbia assessed that the country's economic and political crisis was spurring on the activity of groups and individuals from their nationalist and anti-socialist positions. In indicating that the struggle against such trends should be fostered, it cautioned that the national interests should be clearly distinguished from nationalism.

The state top of Serbia holds that the massive and direct participation of people in the republic's political life had voiced the endeavours towards a democratic control of the powers and had also demonstrated a high degree of conformity regarding the demands for cadre renewal throughout the country.

A more vigorous development of economy and the stabilization of situation in Serbia would be facilitated by changes in the republic's Constitution and by the recent replacement of part of the leadership of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

The constitutional changes would in no way question the autonomy of the provinces in the composition of Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina, but the provinces would no longer be able to act independently from the republic.

The leadership of Serbia still maintains that sections of the Kosovo privincial and federal leaderships should sustain responsibility for the wavering, avoiding or blocking the actions aimed to solve the problem of Kosovo.

Serbian Veterans Warn of Rising Nationalism

LD2801213389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 28 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 28 (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Serbian veterans' organization today warned about mounting nationalism in this Yugoslav republic and decided that the point should be discussed at one of its upcoming sessions.

Two days ahead of the plenum of the Central Committee (CC) of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) which should decide on the demands to hold an emergency LCY congress and to replace President of the Yugoslav Communists Dr Stipe Suvar, the veterans of Serbia called for such a composition of the federal party Presidency as would "enable the society's exit from the crisis and would ensure Yugoslavia's unity."

President of the Serbian veterans' organization Slavko Popovic pointed to the increasing disunity in the ranks of veterans in Yugoslavia and their alignment with the political leaderships of their own republics and provinces. In criticizing the phenomenon, Popovic sought a resolute struggle against nationalism in the first place in one's own environment. "Conflicts are not solutions," said Popovic, "so let us do out utmost, each of us in his own environment, in the struggle for the unity of Yugoslavia."

With a host of examples, Serbian veterans indicated the phenomena of nationalism in the country, above all in their own republic, criticizing, among other things, "a return to national romaniticism." "If this is a matter about which the League of Communists does not declare itself," said a participant in the debate, "it is ourselves who [word indistinct] have to do it."

The participants target of veterans' criticism was the press. If the LCY CC is sought to call to responsibility all those who try to make Yugoslav nations quarrel with one another, it was said in the debate, it should be admitted that such examples do exist also in the public media in Serbia in which "space is given to irresponsible slinging of mud at people."

In this context, the veterans assessed as incorrect and inacceptable an assertion by Yugoslav physicist Bogdan Maglic, who lives in the United States, that the "Serbian people's anti-communist roots" allegedly were "historical." This assertion maded by Maglic has recently been published in Belgrade press, and veterans now wondered why Serbia does not react immediately to all such phenomena. Keeping silent, as a participant in the debate said, helps the doubts be aroused also in other sections of Yugoslavia concerning "all progressive demands being backed up by Serbia."

hatred toward the SR of Serbia, cannot be at the head of Yugoslavia, which is also what we would think if this involved someone else in any other part of our country.

Serbian Presidency Meets, Discusses Unity

LD0702010489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—"The Presidency of the SR of Serbia concludes that the political and security situation in the SR of Serbia is mainly marked by a great mobility of the working people and citizens on the platform of the League of Communists for solving the most essential problems of the SR of Serbia, which is, at the same time, the prerequisite for the political and security stability and integrity of the entire country. The unity of the leadership and the people has been established on such a democratic and progressive platform, and on these issues," stresses a statement made at today's session, presided over by Petar Gracanin, of the SR of Serbia Presidium. The opening address was given by Aleksandar Mitrovic. The Presidency was considering the current socioeconomic, political, and security situation, and established the guidelines for the activities in the forthcoming period.

"What has already been achieved in the SR of Serbia, including the great democratic, sociopolitical changes in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the first positive changes in the cadre renewal in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, represents the beginning of the resolving of the crisis and the realization of the reforms," the Presidency assesses. [passage omitted]

The situation in Kosovo remains the most difficult and important political, security, and moral problem of Yugoslavia. Slowness, hesitations, and opportunism in carrying out the established policy and evading and blocking the action by a part of the former Kosovo leadership and by a part of the political leadership of the country, as well, continue to represent the key problem, and raise the question of responsibility for the implementation of the established policy. The SR of Serbia invests enormous efforts, cadres, and material means to meet its obligations under the existing conditions.

The accomplished cadre renewal of a part of the leadership of Kosovo will facilitate the final showdown with the counterrevolution, and a more successful resolution of the main problems and tasks: to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, restore intranational trust, and to create a united front of all the socialist forces.

The Presidency SR of Serbia underlines that the changes to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia ought to be completed by the preestablished deadlines. The fact that the SR of Serbia is constituting itself as a state and self-managing community of the equal nations and nationalities which live within it, over its entire territory, is of great significance for the stabilization of the political situation in the country. In its basic constitutional features, statutes, and functions, the SR of Serbia must have equal rights with the other republics. The autonomous rights of the provinces must not be questioned by this, but be realized within the framework of the SR of Serbia, not beyond or independently of it.

Bearing in mind that the changes to the Constitution of the SFRY made up to this point do not create sufficient opportunity for necessary and comprehensive social and economic reforms, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia maintains that all the conditions have been met for immediate preparations for and endorsement of the new constitution of the SFRY.

The unfavorable social, economic, and political situation in the country facilitates increasing activities by groups and individuals from nationalist, antisocialist, and anticommunist positions. Hence, further appropriate actions are needed primarily against those who are acting from the positions of the greater Albanian nationalism and separatism, but also against those who act from the position of Serbian and other nationalisms. In all the cases, a clear line must be drawn between the national interests expressed primarily by the working class in its struggle for socialist and democratic reforms, and nationalism.

While being patently against a multiparty system in our environment, the Presidency, at the same time, maintains that a more flexible approach is needed regarding the real social need for expressing the pluralism of various self- managing and political methods within the broadest socialist platform and in the framework of the SAWP—in accordance with our constitutional and political system. There should be no essential differences within the Yugoslav space in connection with this issue.

The essential characteristic of the current situation in the republic is, as said at the session of the SR of Serbia Presidency, a direct participation of the people on a mass scale in the political life. The aspirations of the working people and citizens to critically and democratically control the power, gain the responsibility of the officials holding the public posts, and for the cadre renewal are being increasingly demonstrated through a multitude of democratic forms.

The social reform also depends on the cadre changes, by which the conservative forces in the bureaucratic environments will hand over the reins to the educated, expert, and responsible cadres who will successfully undertake the reforms and the great tasks it requires. Where there is a breakdown in communication between the leaders and the people, irresponsibility, bureaucratic arrogance, and arbitrary conduct, lack of sense for what working people and citizens propose and set in motion, the demands for the replacements of leaderships are justified. This, however, should be done through the SAWP and the assemblies, through prompt discussions

Misinformation about the essence and extent of the constitutional changes is serious and damaging, as are those theories about an alleged denial of the rights of the Albanian nationality.

The Kosovo LC will persist in realizing the conclusions of the 17th session about responsibility for the situation in Kosovo, for this is a prerequisite for realizing the conclusions in their entirety. Any other approach would, in fact, be resistance to the realization of these 20th LCY Central Committee session conclusions.

Communists are obligated to advocate united action by all progressive forces in Kosovo and to resist all negative developments that fuel divisions across common life in the province. Allegations that can be heard these days at some meetings that the entire Albanian nationality is being labeled nationalist by the country and that a campaign is being waged against it are based upon some individuals' irresponsible statements, which are tendentious and very dangerous. Communists are, therefore, required to confront these and similar individuals' manipulations resolutely. Not even in one of the assessments of the situation in Kosovo by the LCY Central Committee, the Serbian LC Central Committee, and the PC have the members of the Albanian nationality, the working class, the working people, and citizens been characterized in such a fashion. On the contrary, there always has been a clear dividing line.

The Kosovo LC Central Committee Presidium maintains that the key role and responsibility in this complex situation should be assigned to the sociopolitical organizations and managing organs of associated labor. By consistent support for the LC's course and through daily contacts with the working people, they are obligated to control the entirety of relations in their organizations, and thus contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the province. Communists in the media, the statement goes on, should promote objective and comprehensive information, and affirm the LCY's policy from unified ideological premises.

Kosovo Communities Differ About Suvar

AU2701165889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "From Support to the Lack of Confidence"]

[Text] Pristina, 25 Jan—There have been a number of meetings in many collectives, local communities, SAWP branches, and party organizations in Kosovo recently. Many telegrams have also been sent, extending support to some people and denying confidence to others, depending, of course—in the usual Kosovo manner—on the national affiliation of the people involved.

Communities populated mostly by Albanians extend unreserved support to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president, Stipe Suvar, asking them not to submit to unfounded attacks and pressure. It is demanded in the messages that "things carried out at street rallies, such as destructive activities and imposing people with leaderlike ambitions on us, should be stopped."

Different demands are voiced in the communities populated mostly by Serbs and Montenegrins. They demand that the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president, Stipe Suvar, be called to account for failing to solve the Kosovo drama, for "creating the unprincipled coalition" [refers to the phrase used by Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session], and for "obstructing" the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. All those catch phrases that have been appearing recently are repeated, such as Zuta Greda [the place where the police dispersed Niksic workers who were heading for Titograd demonstrations in October 1988], calling the people a street mob, the assertions that Macedonia has been surrounded by Serbian nationalism, and others.

Belgrade LC Withholds Confidence in Suvar

AU2601165189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Suvar Cannot Be at the Head of the Party"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan—The city committee of the LC organization in Belgrade at today's session (which was scheduled for 17 January) expressed a lack of confidence in Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

"It is in the basic course of things that the person who has the head post in Yugoslavia, and this is the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, must have the confidence of all parts of the country and not just some of them or the part where he comes from," Slobodan Jovanovic, member of the Belgrade LC Organization City Committee Presidium, in his introductory speech. "Separatism in Kosovo has obviously had support because basic logic points to the contrary, that the counterrevolution should have been overcome in 8 years. If so much tension about the irregular status of the provinces was aimed at preventing the legal and equal status of the SR of Serbia in Yugoslavia, and offensive and astonishing arguments about this were put forward at the Vojvodina conference, then 8 tragic Kosovo days ceases to be a fact merely to be wondered at and those well-known and cynical hackneyed phrases about cool heads and the inability to solve things overnight completely collapse.

We were shocked, it was said in the introductory speech, by what Zivan Marelj revealed at the Vojvodina conference. This cannot simply be ignored. A man with such an attitude and approach, and that means hostility and even

member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; and a group of municipal officials from Titova Mitrovica. [passage omitted]

A number of officials in the combine discussed the economic problems rather than shortcomings, the political situation, or the current protest meetings. [passage omitted]

In Sekulic's opinion, inadequate replacements for Serb and Montenegro nationality experts in the wake of their increased exodus over a period of 15 years is one of the main causes of the situation Trepca has found itself in. The young cadres who have been leaving university unprepared have also not been given the right conditions and opportunities for further training. The fact that the majority of the places the emigrating Serbs and Montenegrins have left have been filled by Albanians has had an impact on intranational relations, Sekulic maintains, while pointing to the responsibility and great potential of the technical experts in Trepca to show the workers the right direction to carry out the established tasks.

We have reached a stage where a great number of people in Trepca prefer to tackle problems other than production and living problems, Sekulic stressed. One has to take into account that a certain number of the young people who have come from university have been infected by negative indoctrination as well, so they are more engaged in politics than in production. The Serb and Montenegrin cadres who are about to emigrate and who feel a substantial degree of impermanence also do not have the right attitude toward work. [passage omitted]

Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, said that every day people should be made aware of the inevitability of changes to stabilize conditions in Kosovo. A prerequisite for doing this is the unity of cadres, so we have to "put our cards on the table" and discuss why we do not share the same opinion on the same stances, conclusions, and agreements. Yesterday we once again saw in Stari Trg that the workers had not been given enough information, Morina said, demanding that all the unsettled questions be dealt with through direct conversations with the workers. Morina asked why certain workers doubted some party decisions and conclusions, and why they fear that changes to the Serbian Socialist Republic Constitution would threaten the identity of the Albanian nationality, so that they are finally perceived as being imposed on from outside. The 1974 Constitution is being fiercely defended, although its fundamental principles have not been questioned. The reason for this, Rahman noted, is insufficient information for the workers and the fact that the unguarded sectors have been won by some others to serve them for their infiltration and "replacement." [passage omitted]

Statement Issued on Kosovo Political Situation

LD0702173189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1444 GMT 7 Feb 89

["Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Statement"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee [PC] Presidium has made the assessment that the current political situation in the province is characterized by numerous strikes and protest meetings by workers, mostly of the Albanian nationality. At these meetings, the prevailing demands are for an explanation of the conclusions of the 20th LCY Central Committee session, establishing responsibility for the aggravated situation in Kosovo, and an explanation of the issues with regard to changes in the Serbian SR Constitution. In addition, there also are disagreements concerning certain assessments of last November's meetings and demonstrations.

The essence of these demands and the way they are raised bear a great resemblance to the demands during the November events. What this is all about, today's statement notes, is organized and continued activity. All this is having an impact on the intranational divisions, and in addition, burdens the overall political and security situation in the province.

With this very serious situation in mind, the PC Presidium made the assessment that those activities consistent with the realization of established LCY policy on Kosovo should be intensified, and that greater efforts should be invested in unity of policy and action.

By executing the tasks of the PC action program on the realization of the 17th LCY Central Committee session's conclusions, the LC should initiate and stimulate its own and other subjective forces as well, so as to halt negative tendencies,and should determinedly tackle resistance to the implementation of LCY policy within its own ranks, the statement of the Kosovo LC PC stresses.

The Presidium emphasizes that a consistent realizaion of the stands of the 13th congress about strengthening unity and togetherness in the Serbian SR is of utter importance, not only in terms of political stability in the Serbian SR, but also in Yugoslavia as a whole. The Kosovo LC is advocating such constitutional changes whereby the Serbian SR would be enabled to exercise its vital functions as a state and self-managing community within its entire territory, and which would consistently realize the essence of the autonomy of the provinces, which are integral parts of the Serbian SR and constitutive elements of the Federation, something that has been included in the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Hence, it is necessary to step up ideopolitical activity to explain the essence of the constitutional changes in the Serbian SR.

It is necessary to eliminate the roots and causes of the appearance and preservation of bureaucratic relations, Milosevic said, among other things, in order to solve the crisis, remove blockades, and start the process of modern development by democratic means and within the framework of socialist self-management and of Yugoslavia as a federative state of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities. The first step will be to insure that the institutions of the system are functioning efficiently and responsibly. The orientation toward commodity production and the world market has meant that the reform in progress makes it possible for us to step up the processes and develop such relations that working people, enterprises, and society can live better and progress more rapidly on the basis of the results of their own labor. Necessary changes in the economy, the political system, and our awareness and method of behavior can be carried out in Yugsolavia only with joint united efforts, Milosevic stressed.

Zaykov briefed Milosevic on the trends and activities concerning the realization of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the purpose of which is to secure the raising of living standards and intellectual life among working people. He spoke in particular of resistance to changes and the efforts exerted in this friendly country for the construction of socialist society and the resolution of current world problems.

During the talks, the two sides mentioned a long-standing tradition of friendly relations and all-embracing cooperation between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. They expressed satisfaction at the fact that these relations were developing, and they both stressed their readiness to overcome some negative tendencies in economic cooperation through the further development of current cooperation and the introduction of new forms of cooperation, such as industrial specialization and cooperation, joint enterprises, and others. Likewise, both sides were pleased to note that the developed relations and cooperation between the capitals, Belgrade and Moscow, were significantly contributing to efforts to develop general Yugoslav-Soviet relations. Slobodan Milosevic gave a luncheon in honor of the high-ranking visitor, Lev Zaykov, and the members of the Soviet delegation.

Workers Continue Strikes in Kosovo Province

AU0702145289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Milisav Milic report]

[Text] Many Kosovo work organizations stopped production today. Work was stopped by more than 2,000 workers of the Printeks textile industry of Prizren. In Pristina there was a work stoppage by the workers of the Kosovo B thermoelectric power plant and several other branches of the Kosovo electricity industry, the construction workers of the Ramiz Sadiku work organization, and by the workers of several other firms.

The Goles miners also went on strike. Protest meetings were organized in several work organizations in Gnjilane, Vitina, Podujevo, and Lipjan. The reasons for the latest protest by Kosovo workers were allegedly some speeches delivered at the LCY Central Committee plenum, and the expulsion of Azem Vlasi from the country's party leadership.

It is, however, certain that these workers' protests were incited by Albanian nationalists and separatists and certain individuals who were affected by the cadre renewal in Kosovo.

Further Coverage

LD0702140789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—In a great number of collectives in Kosovo, workers of Albanian descent today continue to voice the same demands as during the last few days. Workers are calling for Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Ali Sukrija to visit their collectives and explain the proceedings and conclusions of the 20th plenum of the LCY Central Committee.

Resentment was expressed over the fact that Azem Vlasi, whom they called "the best representative of the Albanian nationality," was relieved of his membership in the highest party organ. There were also protests over negative articles and statements about the Albanian nationality. A revision of certain assessments and conclusions of the highest party organs is being demanded.

Kosovo Trepca Combine Situation 'Difficult'

LD0502223489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 5 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Zvecan, 5 Feb (TANJUG)—The overall situation in the Trepca combine, with its 22,450 workers being the biggest and most significant economic organization in Kosovo, is extremely difficult and complex. The unfavorable economic situation illiquidity, excessive debts, halts in development, low personal incomes, and bad working conditions are having a great impact on the political mood of the workers. The Trepca workers favor a self-managing Tito's Yugoslavia, economic reform, and other changes, but they are irritated by various ideological developments, misinformation about the Albanian nationality, and some of the assessments of the November events [a reference to the demonstrations by Albanians in support of the 1974 Constitution].

This was emphasized by the representatives of the LC, the trade union, and the management board of the Trepca composed associated labor organization at today's meeting in Zvecani with Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. The meeting was attended by Savo Komadinic, president of the Kosovo Council of Trade Unions; member of the provincial Presidency Bajram Seljani; Vojislav Zajic,

situation in the Middle East in light of the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to live freely in their own land, in a sovereign and independent Palestinian state.

Turning to the cease-fire on the Iraq-Iran border, President Husayn stressed that his country wished for a stable, permanent, and comprehensive peace with Iran. He added that this could be achieved only if Tehran strictly observed international law and international norms of behavior and in particular if it shows the desire and readiness to fully apply UN Security Council Resolution 598.

Presidents Husayn and Dizdarevic devoted particular attention to preparations for the forthcoming September nonaligned summit in Belgrade. They stressed their hope that this important gathering would take place in a constructive atmosphere, thereby helping to find the best solutions for further cooperation within the movement which, it was stated, would boost the resolution of many complex and unresolved issues that burden the movement.

Before leaving Baghdad, President Dizdarevic placed a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Baghdad.

In addition to the two presidents, also participating in the talks were: Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and Stojan Andov, Yugoslav ambassador in Iraq; and on the Iraqi side: First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan; Vice President Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf, and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz.

Dizdarevic Departs for Home

LD0402183989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic this evening ended a 7-hour official working visit to Iraq and left Iraq for Belgrade. At Baghdad Airport President Dizdaevic and the members of the Yugoslav delegation were seen off by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn; First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan: Vice President Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf; Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz; and other prominent officials.

FEC Vice President Janez Zemljariv, and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar left together with President Dizdarevic.

Met on Return by Hisani

LD0402215989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic returned to Belgrade tonight following his visit to Cyprus and Iraq. FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric; Federal Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar; and other members of the delegation returned to Belgrade with President Dizdarevic.

At Belgrade's Surcin Airport President Dizdarevic was met by Sinan Hisani, member of the SFRY Presidency; FEC Vice President Milos Milosavljevic; Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs; Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces; Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade City Assembly; Ljubisa Korac, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency; Milovoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; and other personalities.

Dizdarevic Sends Congratulations to Bush

AU2601164389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Dizdarevic's Congratulations Telegram to Bush"]

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent George Bush, president of the United States, a telegram on behalf of the SFRY Presidency with cordial congratulations and wishes for success in his work on the occasion of his assumption of the office of president of the United States.

Dizdarevic Receives Message From PLO's 'Arafat

LD0102184889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic on Wednesday received a message from Palestine Liberation Organization Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat relating to the current development of the situation and Israel's repression in the occupied territories.

The message once again expresses gratitude for Yugoslavia's support to the struggle of the Palestinian people and the peaceful settlement of the Palestinian question.

Milosevic Holds Talks With USSR's Zaykov

LD2701234189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1711 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, today received Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, who has been leading a party delegation on a visit to Belgrade.

In an open, friendly conversation, Milosvevic briefed the high-ranking visitor on the current social and political situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Special attention was devoted to the activities of the LC for the implementation of the economic and social reforms, for its own renewal, and for the opening up of prospects for modern and successful development in all spheres of social life.

According to the program of the visit tomorrow, Raif Dizdarevic will have a meeting with the leaders of the political parties which are represented in parliament. One further round of Yugoslav-Cypriot talks is scheduled.

Dizdarevic Arrives in Baghdad

LD0402122189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad, 4 Feb (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, left Cyprus this morning for a brief working visit to Iraq. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and the other members of the Yugoslav delegation also left with President Dizdarevic.

At Baghdad airport Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, was greeted with the highest state honors by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, who wished him warm welcome. The welcome ceremony was also attended by First Deputy Prime Minister Yasin Ramadan, Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz, and other eminent officials on the Iraqi side, and on the Yugoslav side by FEC Vice President Janez Zemljaric, who is in Baghdad attending a session of the Yujgoslav-Iraqi mixed committee, and Stojan Andov, Yugoslav ambassador to Iraq.

After a brief stay and talks at Baghdad airport, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, together with the members of their delegations, drove off to the Presidential Palace by the Tigris. At the palace, the two statesmen immediately started a broad exchange of views on bilateral relations and topical international issues.

Meets With Iraqi President

AU0402160589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Report by Salih Konjhodzic, TANJUG correspondent in Baghdad]

[Text] Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, is staying in Baghdad on an official visit upon the invitation of President Saddam Husayn. Salih Konjhodzic, TANJUG correspondent, reports:

Presidents Saddam Husayn and Raif Dizdarevic had a comprehensive exchange of opinions on the entire range of bilateral issues here today. They expressed their mutual desire for further exchanges of information and for progress in Iraqi-Yugoslav relations.

On this occasion, President Saddam Husayn particularly pointed out the contribution of some 10,000 Yugoslav workers and experts in the realization of many development plans, and he expressed the wish that their involvement in the reconstruction and construction of Iraq should continue within the framework of the agreements concluded.

The two presidents also examined many sensitive problems burdening the world at present: the situation in the Gulf region after the cease-fire on the Iraq-Iran border, the Middle East situation, especially in light of the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people to live free at their own hearths in a sovereign and independent Palestinian state.

Presidents Saddam Husayn and Raif Dizdarevic paid particular attention to the forthcoming summit of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade, expressing their hope that this imposing gathering will pass in a constructive atmosphere and thus help to find the best solutions for further mutual cooperation and for the solution of many unsolved problems in the international field.

Further on Talks

LD0402190989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1736 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad, 4 Feb, (TANJUG)—Iraqi President Saddam Husayn and SFRY Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic, who was here today on a short official visit, had a broad and comprehensive exchange of opinions on a whole spectrum of bilateral issues and current international events.

Presidents Husayn and Dizdarevic devoted particular attention to economic cooperation between the two friendly and nonaligned countries and, in this context, to some unresolved questions regarding the consolidation of Yugoslav financial claims. The talks in this, it is stressed, were very useful, and a separate protocol was signed in this connection.

The document creates the basis for the favorable resolution of some current problems and creates conditions for even greater and more comprehensive bilateral cooperation.

President Husayn pointed in particular to the great contribution made by some 10,000 Yugoslav workers and experts in the realization of many development projects, and expressed the hope that, in the framework of the agreements reached between the two countries, their involvement in Iraq's renewal and construction would continue.

It was stated during the talks that exceptional value is attached here to Yugoslavia's contribution to the construction of several hydroelectric facilities, roads, long distance power lines, telephone exchanges, and many special purpose and other buildings.

Presidents Husayn and Dizdarevic also informed each other about current political, and other conditions in their countries and efforts to overcome current difficulties.

The two presidents considered problems burdening the contemporary world and the situation in the Gulf region after the end of the Iraq-Iran war, in particular the

Spiros Kiprianou of the Democratic Party, Glafcos Clerides of the Democratic Rally Party, Dhimitrios Khristofias of the AKEL Communist Party, and Takis Hadjidemetriou of the Socialist EDEK Party.

The focus of these talks were the activities in connection with resolving the Cyprus problem. President Dizdarevic stressed that Yugoslavia welcomed with satisfaction the renewal of the dialogue between the Greek and Turkish communities, seeing in it a way to reach the solution. Both sides noted that positive trends in the world were creating more favorable conditions for resolving the Cyprus problem.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today visited the Yugoslav Embassy, where he had talks with its members and with business representatives in Nicosia. Dizdarevic briefed the members of the Yugoslav representation on the country's economic and political situation.

TANJUG Details Events in Visit

LD0302051689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2035 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Nicosia, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—The presidents of Cyprus and Yugoslavia, Yeoryios Vasiliou and Raif Dizdarevic, had official talks today in Nicosia, in which members of the delegations of the two countries also took part.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, arrived today on a 2-day official visit to the Republic of Cyprus. In the Yugoslav delegation are: Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other personalities.

Bilateral relations were the center of today's talks. The joint assessment was that the relations between the two countries are developing successfully, in other words, that they are developing in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, closeness, and friendship.

President Vasiliou stressed that his personal relations with Yugoslavia have deep roots and that Cyprus does not have many friends like Yugoslavia. You can be assured, he stressed, that the Cypriot people are conscious of the support that Yugoslavia is offering their country. This relationship with Yugoslavia—a relationship of sincere friendship and bilateral cooperation—had its basis laid by Presidents Tito and Makarios. As a sign of respect toward President Tito and friendship toward Yugoslavia, a monument has been built in the center of Nicosia to the Yugoslav president, the Cypriot president stressed.

Conveying the greetings of the SFRY Presidency to the hosts, Raif Dizdarevic stressed that the regular contacts and the political dialogue at the highest level, as well as the cooperation between the foreign ministers, have special importance in the positive development of bilateral relations.

The talks devoted particular attention to economic cooperation, which has achieved a relatively good level. The need was stressed for the undertaking of mutual efforts to have this cooperation raised to an even higher level and developed a long-term basis, starting with joint investments of capital, industrial cooperation deals, including joint participation in third markets.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that broad scope is being opened up for economic cooperation with the implementation of the economic reforms in Yugoslavia. More favorable conditions are in fact being created, he stressed, for close economic links between the two countries.

The talks made note of the possibility of the more intensive development of cooperation in the field of tourism. The status of cultural, scientific, and information-based cooperation development was positively assessed. President Vasiliou informed his guests about the dialogue between the two Cypriot communities, which is just now being conducted under the auspices of the UN secretary general. Up to now essential progress has not been achieved in these talks, but efforts exist for the dialogue to be continued along the lines of the search for a solution, he stressed.

Raif Dizdarevic, explaining the Yugoslav positions, stressed that the latest positive development in international relations and the strengthening of dialogue and agreement-seeking is creating more favorable conditions for the resolution of the Cypriot question as well. He expressed the conviction that the solution to the Cypriot question can be achieved only on the basis of the renewal of the unity, territorial integrity, independence, and nonaligned status of Cyprus, as well as in the conditions of the equality of all Cypriots.

After the official talks the president of the SFRY Presidency spoke in the Cypriot parliament. The radio here carried a direct broadcast of his speech.

The president of the SFRY Presidency today laid a wreath at the statue of the [former] Cypriot President, Archbishop Makarios.

President Vasiliou presented Raif Dizdarevic with the high award of the "Grand Necklace of the First Order of Makarios III."

The Cypriot president this evening put on an official dinner in honor of his host at which there was an exchange of toasts.

the SFRY Presidency, who today began a 2-day official visit to Cyprus. The host and guest exchanged toasts on this occasion. [passage omitted]

"The summit meetings have become a part and parcel of the best tradition of friendly Yugoslav-Cypriot relations," Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in his toast. Therefore we see this visit as yet another confirmation of our common interest and readiness in further improving the already developed and close bilateral relations.

When speaking of these relations we always bear in mind the great contribution made by Presidents Makarios and Tito. The closeness which dates from the time of the struggle for the independence of Cyprus and to the sixties, when the two architects of the independence and freedom of their countries were together among the first architects of the policy and movement of nonalignment, is permanently present in the collective consciousness of our peoples," Dizdarevic stressed.

Speaking about the successes hitherto on the road of cooperation between Yugoslavia and Cyprus, Dizdarevic said that there is a need for even bolder economic links at a high level, joint business ventures and cooperation in investment in development, and tourism. For all this a continuity in contacts and political dialogue is important.

"Here today, Dizdarevic continued, "even if only for a short time, we are the witnesses of the dynamic development, progress, and prosperity of your country, but also of the complex circumstances in which it still finds itself. In the middle of this modern, beautiful city, we also saw the material symbols of division and of the divided life of Cypriots. You are aware, Mr President, that Yugoslavia has given and gives full support to the solution of the Cypriot problem on an internationally acceptable bases. Therefore we are following with particular attention the negotiations that are being conducted under the auspics of the UN general secretary...."

Dizdarevic also said that Yugoslavia and Cyprus are most directly interested in the Mediterranean becoming a region of lasting peace, security, and comprehensive cooperation. As a result, they see in the efforts of the nonaligned Mediterranean countries a significant contribution to the stabilization of circumstances in the region, something which should facilitate the strengthening of the equal and mutually beneficial relations with the other European Mediterranean and with other countries of the old continent as well.

We are having our meeting at a point in time when new, encouraging prospects are opening up on the horizon of international relations. Confrontation is increasingly giving up its place to dialogue and the state of tension is being replaced by a growing process of detente," Dizdarevic said. "In all this the group of the nonaligned and neutral countries, in the framework of which Yugoslavia and Cyprus are cooperating so successfully, has been, and remains, one of the most important factors."

Dizdarevic also, among other things, stressed that the Nonaligned Movement also feels the need for its own transformations. "It is not a matter of the abandonment of the principles and goals of our action, which over the last almost 3 decades have experienced historical confirmation," he said. "It is a matter of the movement being a still more influential factor of peace and stable international relations in the new conditions as well, while at the same time necessarily adapting its actions and work methods. We attach particular importance to these questions in the preparations for the ninth summit of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade. We expect the closest cooperation, in the future too, with the nonaligned Republic of Cyprus so that we might, together with all the nonaligned countries, implement the goals we have set."

Meets Cypriot President

LD0302210989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Nicosia, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—Presidents of Cyprus and Yugoslavia, Yeoryios Vasiliou and Raif Dizdarevic, who yesterday began a 2-day official visit to Cyprus, today had final talks primarily on the activities of the nonaligned countries and on the situation in the world. Apart from the two presidents, the talks were attended by the members of the two countries' delegations.

Special attention was devoted to the activity of the Nonaligned Movement and preparations for the summit, which is scheduled to be held in Belgrade in September. The two sides also discussed the situation in the Middle East and possibilities of the involvement of nonaligned countries in initiating a new peace process to resolve this problem.

It was jointly concluded that the latest development in international relations, which reaffirms dialogue and agreement-seeking, offers more favorable prospects for the greater commitment of the nonaligned countries. However, these changes also impose a need for the movement itself to adapt to and improve the methods of its own commitment. In this connection, the two presidents stressed that the recent ministerial meeting in Nicosia was very beneficial and that these activities should be continued in order to work out concrete initiatives and ideas by the time of the summit in Belgrade.

Both sides noted that in the future, the Nonaligned Movement should devote greater attention to resolving international economic issues and to seeking possibilities for renewing the North-South dialogue.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, this morning had separate meetings with the leaders of four Cypriot political parties represented in the Parliament:

and, to no lesser extent, before the whole world's public, and above all that of the European and nearest part of the world.

Events on the eve of the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum were reduced to the confrontation of the political profiles and ideological attitudes of two Yugoslav antipodes with similar temperaments, both with the open and concealed ambitions to impose themselves in a charismatic way on all of Yugoslavia, and to do this in quite different historical and political circumstances than those of the time that is being invoked. Therefore, the fate of this country of enflamed passions lies in collective reason while this still exists, and while blazing Balkan extremes are avoided.

No matter how heated the atmosphere in the SFRY Assembly building seemed, no matter how much of a nuisance the security forces in front of the building were, no matter how much the basic course of the marathon debate resembled something already seen, what can give us a new dose of optimism—if it is at all possible to find this for the frustrated individual in such a course of events—is only the fact that, despite the high tension of the polemical sparks, one managed to conduct a cultured dialogue. Participating himself in the polemics which were caused by speeches by Slobodan Milosevic, Azem Vlasi, Ai Shukrija, and Nedeljko Sipovac, Ivo Druzic rightfully commented: "Yugoslavia may again become a decent place to live in. This will happen when the SFRY, above all, respects man as an independent economic and political unit. Then the Croats and Serbs and every other people will rise on the scene."

Unfortunately, this man, this individual, this LC member, this nonparty member, this believer, this atheist, this worker, this intellectual, this employee, this unemployed person who is probably young, and the entire population of Yugoslavia which has been chained to televisions and other parts of the media in recent days, have been lost in a flood of words, behind which the bare-fisted struggle for power between two concepts concerning the way out of the crisis is taking place. At the moment when, in the nature of its work, the foreign information media quite justifiably emphasized the warning speeches of the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, which should probably make we ourselves and especially politicians think, we are left with dialogue as the only chance to find a way out of this political stalemate. Let that sometimes be a conversation between deaf people, which is what parts of the verbal conflicts sounded like.

Be it a speech of more than 10 minutes which does not fit into what the old statute of the town of split demanded as early as 6 centuries ago from previous debaters, be it even the long reading of prepared speeches which have already been heard 100 times—all this is accepted as positive in the present situation when we do not have a firmer foundation to hold on to.

In the dearth of real shifts, we are only left with dialogue, no matter how much it has sometimes resembled a monologue. The dangerous thing would be for this or similar dialogue to cease. Such dialogue, even in those communities where the right to think differently is denied, would probably prompt those who are prisoners of their ideas to consider whether the blame is only on the other side and whether the problems of this country can only be resolved by obstinate intolerance. When, in an impossible situation, arguments disappear, the only hope that remains is that man must first of all be recognized as an economic and political unit in order for Yugoslavia to again become a decent place in which to live.

Federal Chamber Session Slated for 15, 16 Feb

LD0302161889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—Stjepan Novakovic, president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, has scheduled a session of this assembly chamber for 15 and 16 February, when delegates should adopt three reform laws: on accountancy, on financial affairs, and on banks and other financial organizations. It is expected of them that, "in collaboration" with the already-adopted law on enterprises and law on the bases of the Yugoslav social plan, they will set in motion market mechanisms and lead the economy down the road of reform.

It is expected that delegates' attention will be particularly aroused by two matters that have been "duty topics" in Yugoslavia for a long time: the report on the implementation of the Yugoslav program of measures in Kosovo and the proposal for the adoption of a law on postponing the construction of nuclear power stations in our country.

FEC Approves Price Increases on Staple Foods

LD2801035489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2213 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 27 Jan (TANJUG)—In accordance with an FEC decision, as of tomorrow retail prices for flour and bread will be increased by 12.5 percent and 20.5 percent, respectively. The price of 1 liter of pasteurized milk will be 32 percent higher. These price increases will lead to a 0.19 percent increase in wholesale prices, a 0.27 percent increase in retail prices, a 0.92 percent increase in everyday expenses.

Coverage of Dizdarevic Cyprus, Iraq Visit

Dizdarevic Banquet Toast

LD0302044689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1749 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Excerpts] Nicosia, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—In Nicosia Yeoryios Vasiliou, the president of Cyprus, has sponsored a formal dinner in honor of Raif Dizdarevic, president of

enough in order to be able to take the next step. This is a step without which not even this "little" would still be a step marking time but a step backwards.

This is a little, because the LCY Central Committee should now decide between an extraordinary or an early congress; because the LCY is already its own kind of conglomerate of territorial and political options which even colored the 3-day plenum with their mutually contradictory views both of the past and the future of socialism and democracy, and the party leadership only gathered enough strength to say how it would have analyzed the "expressed differences" by the next congress. This is also a little because the predictions came true that everything would end in stalemate, because nothing more important changed in the basic arrangement and balance of forces (the party platforms for working out the new constitution and for the reform of the LCY should now be established and the real debate on the demand that Stipe Suvar be replaced is yet to come)... It is also a little because the outcome of the 20th plenum could tendentiously continue to weaken both the cohesion within the LCY and the position of the LCY Central Committee. The explosive charge of the federalization of the party combined with the expansiveness of the estranged political options has virtually not been weakened in the least: Although the hoops around our political "powder keg" are not much stronger, it is easier for them to resist pressure from within more or less only because they themselves have been expanded somewhat by the aforementioned and other delays.

This "negative balance" is anything but a surprise. The concept of a party of (or in) power had to have this or a slightly different stage of degeneration, even if it did not directly produce the crisis; even if it did not bear on the surface of the water and "below it" quite a lot of what would certainly have been called in other times at least "elements of factionist struggles." The present territorial national and leaders' confrontations are only the last inevitable derivative of the present concept and the legalized confederal-consensus unity. In several respects, matters are even potentially more unfavorable than they appear, even in their extreme form which is what "ordinary people" worry about the most. The big question is: "Will the party in power know how and want to sincerely pronounce the 'new socialism' and will it in particular want to allow this "new socialism" to exist, considering that it could only have a chance primarily if it is to the detriment of the party's political monopoly.

It can easily be demonstrated that the assessment that the LC "no longer loses battle after battle" was excessive and premature. This can be done even though the 20th session brought some encouragement which will mean something in history only if it is followed by the necessary "step forward." Certainly, the first and most important thing lies in the decision of the LCY Central Committee that, while working out the platform for the reform of the LC, one must also seek "major innovations in the concept of socialism." It is all the more valuable that it was heard in the plenum's final speech that Yugoslavia needs "a different vision and practice of socialism because its peoples cannot be joined only by the state and the past." It is good that it has been admitted that this first prerequisite for the proreform, prosocialist, prodemocratic, and pro-Yugoslav denouement of the crisis has still not been met by any means. For the type of denouement that Yugoslavia and its future need, both the political ceasefire and the unity—even though it is monolithic—are not enough without "major innovations in the concept of socialism," without irrevocable democratization and the historical disassembling of the political monopoly. The real problem lies in the concept of the party of power and not in whether Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic will "listen" to Ivo Druzic (even if he was right to a far greater extent) or not. It is therefore a mistake to believe that without "major innovations in the concept of socialism," the cooling down of political passions—which some people have recently been saying are "quietly tailoring" and destabilizing Yugoslavia—could be anything other than temporary. It is also a mistake to believe that the balance of power has a much less fatal effect in the form of a political stalemate than in the form of a frontal clash of confronting political aspirations.

The chances of achieving "major innovations in the concept of socialism" are nevertheless somewhat greater after the 20th plenum than before it. This is despite the fact that the balance of power will show its real colors only after the battle for "major innovations in the concept of socialism" has begun. They are also somewhat greater because the LCY was the first of the communist parties in the world to begin separating state and party posts and because most members of the LCY Central Committee at the 20th session did agree that "all key contentious issues and the present disagreements in the LCY" should in future be resolved as purely internal party problems, so that the confrontations concerning them should not block the whole of society and social institutions.

Nevertheless, we should not deceive ourselves: Without "a different vision and practice of socialism," socialism—which would above all consider that it and democracy face an inflation rate of 1,000 percent—is only empty words and the denouement of the crisis and an extraordinary congress can be only new battlefields for power and the redistribution of positions. Without "a different vision and practice of socialism" those things that made the 20th session end with stalemate and postponements which are probably at this moment politically productive in many respects, in the final reckoning could become a mere postponement of the struggle for power, in which the only winner can be the "party of power."

Dialogue Seen as Only Way Out of 'Stalemate'

AU0802100689 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 89 p 1

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "Only With Dialogue"]

[Text] Yugoslavia is once again prattling on about its problems to the party and nonparty people in Yugoslavia

of the YPA members to take part in everything that is happening in this country and that they indicate the resistance to the danger of the rift and disintegration which has been looming ominously over all of us.

It is true that when they said what they did, the admirals seemed to be people concerned about the country's fate. There are some other people who dispute that concern and in doing so remain unconcerned.

Everything else that has been said about threats, the banging of the table with one's fist, and the evil shadow of militarism and a firm hand is a mere invention.

Validity of LCY Plenum Ballot Questioned

AU0802090289 Belgrade Borba in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 89 p 1

[B. Sarovic report: "Are There Six Members Fewer?"]

[Text] The vote of the LCY Central Committee members on relieving Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, and Svetislav Dolasevic— up until recently, leading Kosovo officials—of their membership in the LCY Central Committee in the late hours of the 3d day of the 20th plenum of Yugoslav Communists was conducted in the way it was conducted. However, judging by everything, the results of the vote, the way Boris Muzevic, president of the commission for conducting ballots, presented them, and the way the Central Committee accepted this, will be a subject for discussions and verification of the party leadership for some time. Boris Muzevic said, and the Central Committee accepted this, that there are 165 members of the Central Committee. This was the case when members were elected to the Central Committee at the 13th congress. What is "out of tune" is the fact that at present, the Central Committee does not consist of the same number, because six members have since died. Of course, deceased members cannot be members of the Central Committee, and therefore do not constitute its quorum. At the last plenum, this seems to have been ignored.

The matter is clear: The present LCY Central Committee consists of 159, and not 165 members. If this is the case, then the vote on relieving the Kosovo leaders of the membership looks different. In addition to Vlasi and Dolasevic, Kolj Siroka was also supposed to leave the Central Committee, because 82 members voted for that, which is more than one-half of the present and actual membership of the LCY Central Committee.

It is now the Statutory Commission's turn to explain this.

LCY Central Committee Plenum Achieved 'Little'

AU0702143789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4-5 Feb 89 p 1

[Djuro Bilbija commentary: "Either New Socialism or a Struggle for Power"]

[Text] The party is the source of the crisis in Yugoslav society.

There have been critically disposed spirits who were ready to publicly pronounce such a claim—believing that they were telling the truth that they owe to their country and to their intellectual integrity—every year since we set off along winding and uncertain roads. Some of them did not hesitate too long, although they knew for sure that they had thereby decided on a stroll over a political minefield. Above all, with the maturing of the crisis itself the situation has changed radically: In the final speech at the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee, Stipe Suvar admitted without beating about the bush that the crisis had installed itself where it had arisen, and that was in the party.

Something that few people perceive (even among our political analysts) nevertheless remains basically the same. As before, among those whom the increased risk has not prevented from thinking, and from publicly voicing what they are thinking, there was no full and real consensus about whether the economic and political crises are only external concentric circles of the crisis in the LCY, as a crisis in its functioning, or whether this is a case of something much more serious, a crisis in the very model of the party, a model which, in causing an increasingly deep social crisis, could have finally cast itself into question. Nor is ther any of this in the out-of-tune orchestra of the new party (self) criticism in which everyone plays their own music. So, quite legally, voices have been heard in the last few weeks from one republican party leadership to the effect that in the reform of the LCY it is more or less sufficient to reform its mode of operation, while from another, it has been heard that not even this is necessary because it already operates in a reforming way and those who believe that there is no way out of the crisis without an innovative and reshaping incision in the actual concept of the party are in an absolute minority.

If the party has so far been and still is the generator of the Yugoslav crisis and the place of its "original sin," can it stop being this? Will it be ready, in line with its own programic orientations, to "nail itself to the cross" of democratization, demonopolization, and the pluralization of the entire political and public area that civilization needs? Would the elimination of the causes of the crisis within the party also mean the elimination of all basic hotspots of the social crisis? Although in a specific sense (since in many respects the crisis emerged from the LC into society) the LC is the weakest link in the proreforming chain, will it be able to formulate the historically relevant concept of "new socialism" which is something that would not just be a new voluntarism and a mixture of utopian and anarchistic drawings of circles on the surface of the water of the future? Will it also be ready to correct in its own views everything that does not stand up to critical inspection in the public? Finally, in this sense what has been achieved and changed by the 20th plenum which was awaited and followed with great hopes and anticipation?

Seen from the outside, the last session of the highest party leadership in the country achieved both a little and

the barracks. However, Army intervention implies two or three of these famous "however's."

Progress in Command

First, conservative political forces always tend to stage a situation suitable for military intervention. These forces may in fact take advantage of good and noble intentions of military commanders to suit their purposes. All those people who want to maintain the status quo may desire the YPA to act as a sort of army of salvation for themselves. Generals may desire reforms and a new type of socialism, but they cannot be the proponents, creators, and realizers of such transformations. This is where the second "however" lies.

The emergence of the Army is nevertheless a kind of messianism, the emergence of a last savior, a deus ex machina who makes incisions and introduces moratoria of whatever kind in the social processes, because in fact these processes can, during times of crises, difficulties, and disintegration of one system be turned, through a dialectic way, through the negation of negation, into a process which aims for a spontaneous synthesis. Army intervention, however justified it may be for saving the foundations of our community, is not a natural means of recovery, and in fact demonstrates that the community in question is completely unable to revitalize itself. Has the LCY been defeated to the extent that it cannot find the strength and solutions to overcome the crisis, and will it deliver to the warriors the moribund body of the society that it is supposed to lead? However, it is certain that in the party there are still those who would gladly do this in order to redeem themselves in the cheapest possible way, not realizing that the LCY would completely sink and the Army would inherit a job for which it is not qualified. The party and other democratic forces of the system are qualified not to put society in a situation in which reforming and progressive aims are implemented by the Army.

It is one thing when the Army's Communists strive in the LC and in other civil institutions for reforms and criticize the generators of the crisis, and it is another when the Army assumes power in order to save the country from expected destruction. The arrival of the Army would be accompanied by emergency measures, and military rule would be proclaimed. The Army would simply impose order and ensure discipline. Instead of a dialectic way of searching for the synthesis, however difficult that may be, we would have military orders which, regardless of the good intentions behind them, would never have in themselves the spontaneity of natural progress, based on democratic principles and the natural development of the needs of the community and the individual.

This is why is it now better to listen to generals as members of a civil institution who still demand that the necessary tasks be performed through the natural means of politics. These tasks are reform, full individual and collective accountability for political mistakes, and a richer and more democratic socialism with a modern market economy.

'Admirals Did Not Threaten'

AU0702165189 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 89 p 8

[Lj. Stojadinovic commentary: "Admirals Did Not Threaten Anybody"]

[Text] Is it fashionable today to have soldiers keep silent and wait for orders that will justify everything? Why does the pondering of soldiers, and high ranking ones at that, provoke special attention? Is what is involved here only the syndrome of the apprehension about the force which would use words only to disguise a necessary warning? Who has, for instance, seen a warning in the speeches two admirals had made at the 20th LCY Central Committee and why has he done so?

We have started this commentary with questions in order to provide answers to them for the sake of some people abroad whose duty is not only to understand words, but also to assess what is hi[illegible]ng behind them. They described the speeches of the [illegible]wo admirals at the latest party plenum as the emergence of the Army on the scene. The open scene south of the A[illegible]ps and even further south from the Sava has provoked [illegible]heir questions and commentaries which are much more premonitions than they are knowledge. Because of that, and perhaps even more because of certain things that are more thought than spoken about, the European press has interpreted the speeches about our Army in the way it wanted to interpret them.

If they do not know what it means for the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] to not remain outside the battle for Yugoslavia, let us tell them: If this battle were waged without it and if all the "specters from the mist" were to come out, the battle could be in vain, and battles in vain are no business of the Army.

Let us recall one more thing: One of the admirals had said that the Army will not start that battle alone, but with the people, with everybody who lives in the country, and against those people who would like everything to disappear.

It seems that everything is simple, but it is not. Those people who want to destroy and divide, and who look after themselves much more than after those things they are persuading the others to look after, will not agree to withdrawal. Because of them, it is perhaps more important for the Army to wage a battle in politics than anywhere else.

Therefore, the admirals did not threaten anybody. Those people who have understood them properly have understood that those words indicate the need and obligation

Finally, what do we do next? We already have a program of the new FEC, which was presented by Ante Markovic. I think that this program is in line with the stands of the first LCY conference and the 19th LCY Central Committee session. It should be supported. However, we must create conditions so that the new FEC is, above all, accountable to the SFRY Assembly and not the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee, so that it can bear all responsibilities for the results of its measures and programs. This is why two things in our platform are important for finding a way out of the crisis:

The first is turning toward actual action to solve the current, everyday, existential problems of the citizens and workers class, for if these problems are not solved in a more efficient way, we will neither receive support, nor will there be readiness for the mobilization.

Second, if we do not openly discuss some aspects of relations within the LCY in the program or the document on the reform of the LCY, then futile compromises and closing our eyes to reality will push us further into an abyss. It is necessary to clearly and resolutely state at some stage: This is enough, comrades. Responsibility for this is also of an individual nature.

Army Leaders' Plenum Speeches Examined

AU0702122689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4-5 Feb 89 p 3

[Momcilo Djorgovic Commentary: "No Military Gambit for the Time Being"]

[Text] Do we also need a kind of "army of salvation"? Do we need intervention by the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in order to be able to coordinate with each other?

Judging from the reaction of the world media, speeches by Vice Admiral Petar Simic and General Stane Brovet at the 20th LCY Central Committee provoked great reaction, special interest, and careful analysis. Rome LA REPUBBLICA points out that the Armed Forces have "raised the sight and have taken a less indefinite position" and [Milan] L'UNITA says that the "Army has offered to extinguish the flame of destructive polemics." THE NEW YORK TIMES has concluded that Admiral Simic had a serious warning....

When comparing the speeches Army "chiefs" made at the 17th session, which was also "historic," with the ones they made at this latest 20th session, one can spot certain differences in the intensity and concentration of the critical fire and in stressing combat readiness.

Delicate Position

The generals were indeed harsh at the 17th session, but what they submitted to their critical fire at that time were the many phenomena pertaining to the crisis. Despite the thorough criticism, the generals stressed that the Army does not want to "march onto" the social scene, because the crisis should be solved primarily by political means. Moreover, Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, pointed out that he energetically rejected all attempts to introduce some other institutions of the system into the YPA command system. The restructuring of army districts at the end of last year may in a way be connected with this (apart from the reason of necessary rationalization). In the new model, there are only four army districts: Zagreb, Split, Belgrade, and Skopje. The Ljubljana, Nis, and Sarajevo Army Districts have been abolished.

The energetic warning Kadijevic voiced at the 17th session was echoed at the 20th session, only in an apparently milder form, which still suggests turbulent happenings behind the scenes. Stane Brovet pointed out that the communists in the YPA have been "but into a very delicate position." One could understand from what he said further that that position is delicate, because "individuals and small groups" demand that the Army protect their "narrow interests," and the Army, on the other hand, has the constitutional obligation to defend the federation on the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. Can one be clearer in saying what kind of pressures the Army is subjected to, and is it not obvious that it needs the same kind of help that the entire society needs? In fact, in this undermined Yugoslav situation, the Army, with its "unity," resembles a real "miracle," something like a perpetual mobile. Will it remain a "miracle" and will these basic foundations of our community (sovereignty, territorial integrity, federalism, and human sacrifices) be a sufficient motivating and constructive factor in helping us resist destructive forces? We have seen that the passions of particularist interests have penetrated deeply, even where one did not expect them to. Hopefully, the Army will not be forced to intervene, not only to save the foundations of our community, but to save itself from disintegration.

Admiral Simic's statement that the "YPA, both as a strike element of our Armed Forces and a respected sociopolitical and moral factor of Yugoslav society, is stable, and ready to perform its role and purpose" can be interpreted as a serious warning and a new point in the military chiefs' speeches. Of course, the stress here lies on "stable and ready," which can be interpreted as being on the alert. After all, Simic, and that means the YPA too, expects "the culmination of the crisis to approach rapidly" and warns that the "rocks that can cause catastrophe" are nearby. The Army's sights are set on a clear target: "Somebody may have declared the battle for Yugoslavia, but it will not be waged without the YPA, and with it the millions of working people who cherish Yugoslavia much more than some blinded and insensitive bureaucratic groups and individuals striving for power and the destruction of this country."

If only the Army could bring Yugoslavia back to its senses and necessary reforms, then every patriotic citizen and wise intellectual would only welcome its leaving

However, I ask you to think hard about how we have influenced the federalization of the LC, and to what extent that can be principled at all? If you believe that a finger should now be a fist, which I agree with in the context in which you spoke, then I would add that it should not be pointed at anybody in particular here, but at all of us who have not succeeded in halting the degrading trend in the LCY and our community.

Allow me to say that relations in the country, like relations in the LCY since the 17th session, unfortunately cannot discourage me from coming to the horrifying conclusion that nonadherence to principles is very possible in our movement, and it is present and exists even in the LCY Central Committee.

The comrade who a little while ago was disgusted at the phrase about a coalition should first of all be disgusted at the result of the vote on the accountability of members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. An exemplary punishment for one member of this Presidium without any reasoned argument about his responsibility is at least just as serious an act—ill-suited to the revolutionary tradition of our movement—as the unreasoned criticism of our president. If this same comrade thought that today he elaborated in a very well-argued way about a coalition, an anticoalition, the personnel of this coalition, and about two different ideopolitical parties, then the quality of these arguments is also disgusting. What are these parties and what is the personnel of this anticoalition? I am leaving this question for our comrade, a prominent Communist, to consider.

I propose that we nevertheless turn to vital issues. The LCY must build unity; therefore we need everyone and I would not sacrifice anybody. I hope that the LC and the Central Committee do not have reason to sacrifice me. I would not sacrifice this comrade without being as forgetful as he was, because we are all comrades—we are not the best possible comrades, but we are comrades—and this involves Comrade Joze Vrhovec.

Korosec Speaks 31 Jan

AU0702154989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 89 p 6

[Report on speech by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 20th LCY Central Committee Plenum in Belgrade on 31 January: "How To Come to the End"]

[Text] A question has been raised: What are the key points of clashes in and obstacles to implementing the LCY's policy? Why are we unable to conduct the necessary concentration and mobilization of the workers class and all progressive forces to carry out the social reform and the stands of the LCY on solving key problems of this society? In my view, we are particularly lacking the necessary results in stabilizing the situation and LC policy in Kosovo, in implementing the economic reform and the anti-inflation policy, and so forth. It appears to me that this clash is above all a clash between statism and self-management, and that attempts are being made to substitute a struggle for the renewal of self-management with a struggle against the so-called national rulers [naciokratija].

It appears to me that this is also a struggle between, if I may say so, the proreform and antireform forces, although this has not been clearly expressed everywhere. Without radical shifts in the conception of a new model of socialism, as well as shifts in our thinking, we will not be able to create the new visions of socialism.

We need new ideas. A famous historian once said: "The first sign that a society stagnates is a lack of new ideas." In our society, there are still strong beliefs that we should build a new model of socialism with old ideas. Society as a whole is very mistrustful of new ideas and, if I may say so, new categories. Let me only illustrate our sessions. At the ideological plenum, there was a great dispute over real economic categories, market prices, the factors of production, and so forth. The same is happening today.

We are quarreling over a civil society, a legal state, and even political pluralism. This kind of thinking is creating obstacles. The birth of new ideas requires free expression and a diversity of opinions; it requires a democratic social dialogue open to all those who want to participate in the search for better solutions. The democracy in which only one social force has the right to speak and vote—assuming that everybody is the same and that everybody holds the same views—and in which there is no democratic creative dialogue is not democracy, and this is not the way to make progress.

The second problem is the lack of initiative on the part of organized social forces to formulate an answer to the questions about every day life, such as the national question, answers to the new political initiatives, and so forth. By lacking initiative, we are not able to provide answers and we are creating space for a more offensive appearance of other social forces at our own expense, above all at the expense of the long-term historic interests of the workers class. This lack of initiative was also expressed during the realization of the stands at the 17th session, not only in the LC, but also in the trade union organization, the SAWP, and so forth.

The third factor, which is also a general social factor, is the crisis in managing the Federation. This has also been manifested through the criticism of the political leadership of Yugoslavia to which I still belong.

It, too, is inefficient in solving problems which need to be solved; this criticism is therefore justified. However, it is an illusion that all the problems can be solved by the Federation. Surmounting this situation requires not only cadre changes in the federal leadership, but also a clear definition and reexamination of the functions and actual responsibilities, both collective and individual responsibilities, of the members of federal organs.